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THE NEW-CENTURY BIBLE

THE ACTS

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THE ACTS

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The New Century Bible

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The Acts

INTRODUCTION
AUTHORIZED VERSION
REVISED VERSION WITH NOTES
INDEX AND MAP

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THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

INTRODUCTION

'Acts is no history of the Apostles, but an apology for the Church.'—SCHÄFER.

'I cannot understand "Acts" except as a defence of the Christian religion before the Gentiles against the denunciation of the Jews, which is meant to shew how Christianity, with its mission to the world, has proved to be the annulling of Judaism. . . . The author regards Paul as the representative of the cause which he himself is advocating, namely, the Gentile Christian Church of his own day, and he wishes to describe how this Church came to spread itself over the whole Empire irresistibly. In his representation of the history, he has no animus against Jewish Christianity, far less against Peter or James. What he is absorbed in is the breach with Judaism; for in Judaism he sees the real opponent of Christianity.'—J. WEISS.

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

INTRODUCTION

AN introduction aims at placing the reader at an author's standpoint, whence his work appears in its full meaning and purpose. But where the writer has not even given his own name, and where his personality and history have to be gathered from his work itself, it is a delicate task to write an introduction which shall truly place the reader in contact with the author's mind as embodied in his book. Any such introduction must in fact be a summing-up of all the impressions left by attentive perusal. The danger is lest the would-be interpreter, having failed to reach his author's standpoint, should hinder rather than help the reader whom he invites to begin his study of a work with the perspective which he himself has gained. Yet any interpretation drawn from an honest consideration of the book itself, and not forced upon it from outside, is better than the haphazard impression produced, on first perusal, in a mind necessarily preoccupied by associations and analogies derived from an age and environment alien in many respects from those for which the book was written. And in order to lessen the risk of mistake in the present instance, much of the interpretation of our author's personality and aims will be found in notes on passages where he seems specially to reveal his mind.

I. Value and Literary Characteristics.

As to the importance of the Book of Acts there can be no question. If Luke's Gospel has a claim to be called 'the most beautiful book that has ever been written,' it is safe to say that its sequel is a book of unique interest and value. It has no fellow within the New Testament or without it: the so-called Apocryphal Acts of certain apostles but serve to enforce this statement, as well as witness to the impression produced by our Acts as a type of edifying literature. It is the one really primitive church history, primitive in spirit as well as in substance. Drop it out, and what should we know in a connected, that is in an historical way, touching the most momentous epoch of the church's life? With Acts, Paul's letters are indeed priceless materials for history, as well as perennial founts of inspiration: but without it, they would remain bafflingly fragmentary and incomplete, if not misleading. For it is to Acts that we owe the perspective of the Apostolic Age. Those who have despised its guidance have produced abstractions which they have confidently styled 'Paulinism'; but they have lost the power to give a constructive account of Apostolic Christianity as a whole. Of that the essential truth of the picture in Acts is the prerequisite. And it is increasingly found to afford a harmonious background for the Pauline letters, when once we realize that Paul was a great missionary, emphasizing certain aspects of his Gospel in particular ways as need (polemical or expository) arose, and not merely a theologian, with his message in a uniform dogmatic mould; and when once we take Acts as what it claims to be, viz. an honest history, involving several theological circles, written by a man of singular capacity for recording each situation as felt by the actors themselves.

A proof of the sympathetic genius of the author of Acts (hereafter styled Luke) is furnished by the flexibility of his style, which responds in essentials to its subject-matter.

This appears notably when Jews are speaking as to Jews: so much so, that many assume the use of Jewish-Christian documents, in order to account for the native colour preserved in Acts. In most instances this does indeed mean use of written notes, though probably Luke's own notes, taken down when the very language of his informants was fresh in his receptive memory (see below, on his sources). But in some cases his own sympathetic instinct is alone in question. The best instance is one which unfortunately is lost upon English readers, since it turns on the two forms in which 'Jerusalem' appears in the original Greek. The more Hebraic form, which appears in our version, is used thrice to every twice of the more Greek or Hellenistic. There are some sixty cases in all; and the distribution of usage varies greatly. Thus the former occurs eleven times between i. 4 and viii. 1—in which two passages, as containing plain statements of fact for Gentile readers, the Greek form is used. On the other hand the Greek form alone appears in chaps. xvi–xx (xvi. 4, xix. 21, xx. 16), save in xx. 22, where Paul is referring to his visit to the home of Judaism. Another and more obvious instance is the use of 'Saul' and 'Paul' respectively for the same person in his dual aspects, Jewish and Gentile. Here xiii. 9 marks the turning-point: yet in retrospects 'Saul' duly re-emerges (xxii. 7, 13, xxvi. 14: cf. note on the use of 'saints' for Christians in ix. 13).

Reference has already been made to the connected and consecutive character of Acts. This belongs also to our author's other book. There we learn that it was a point to which he attached great importance, relative to the effect he intended his books to produce on the reader. When he promises to give his friend 'Theophilus' the means of attaining fresh 'certainty' touching matters of which he has already heard through oral instruction, he relies largely on his own special ability, based on careful inquiries going right up to the origins of things, to set all 'in order' in such a way as to make scattered narratives of

sayings and doings fall into a unity marked by the orderly development that imparts a new sense of reality. What 'Theophilus' had known before was rather like a series of dissolving views, lacking inner coherence to his mind, and unrelated to the Græco-Roman world, in which he probably was most at home. It is part, then, of Luke's method in each of his books, to set forth the original Christian facts in such order that their philosophy or *rationale* may spring, as it were, to the eye, and authenticate the whole to thoughtful Græco-Roman readers. To the same end he connects the special history in hand with the general history of the empire at various points; in the gospel chiefly by chronological notices, but in Acts by references also to persons otherwise known upon the stage of world-history. How characteristic of him is this sort of actuality, appears from the very fact that no other writer in the New Testament even mentions the name of a Roman emperor. Further, in the circumstantiality of his references to the secular background, our author lays himself unusually open to detection by our ever-growing knowledge of the early imperial system, supposing he were not really the contemporary of Paul that he affects to be. But he has never yet been caught tripping in this connexion; while in several cases he was for long our sole evidence for matters which inscriptions have later come to light to verify[1].

II. Contents and Leading Ideas.

1. It so happens that Luke has himself furnished each of his works with a short preface. But while that prefixed to his Gospel is in a sense clear, the preface to Acts so blends with the opening narrative as to leave its exact purport open to doubt. Its meaning, however, becomes plainer when we observe the drift of the actual contents as

[1] e. g. the *Politarchs* at Thessalonica, the *Protos* at Malta, besides the arrangements in South Galatia as recently investigated by Prof. Ramsay in his *Church in the Roman Empire.*

a whole. In his former work, as he reminds Theophilus (a representative of the Græco-Roman world), he had traced the beginning of the Christian religion as seen in the deeds and words of its Founder. He now presents what he plainly regards as the proper sequel, in virtue of a great continuity of principle, namely, the presence and power of the Holy Spirit visible in both. The prime actors in the second narrative, by whose work and witness Christianity has been propagated, were in fact so chosen and schooled by Jesus that their activity was virtually but a prolongation of his. This implies that like principles underlie the two histories, e.g. the power of patient endurance according to the will of God, and the Divinely ordered triumph ever emerging from adversity and opposition. Herein the unworldly and superhuman, in a word the truly Divine, character of the religion becomes evident.

All turns on the promise made by Jesus in his Father's name, that they should be fitted for their ministry by the Holy Spirit, as 'power from on high.' This promise, already recorded in the former book, is now re-emphasized in relation to the extraordinary work to be accomplished, the scope of which was quite beyond their own thoughts, restricted as these were by their national horizon (i. 6); and its fulfilment in principle at Pentecost is recorded with great solemnity. There the first-fruits of the more universal harvest yet to come were gathered, so as to form the Messianic community, the nucleus not only of a new Israel but also of a renewed humanity. The Divine nature of the life pulsating within this community, first constituted at Jerusalem, is illustrated both by striking incidents and by descriptions of its joyous and brotherly spirit. Official Judaism, however, failed to see in the new development the fulfilment of the Messianic hope within the heart of the national religion, and by a series of acts shewed its growing hostility, even as in the case of Jesus himself. But the Master's spirit was present also in his disciples, in their trustful courage and obedience to the Divine guidance.

The breach thus begun within Judaism, according as men yielded to the Holy Spirit's manifest presence or resisted it, came to a crisis in the case of Stephen, whose preaching brought out the inner significance of the new movement with fresh clearness. In his defence before the supreme national court he shewed that the situation was but the final issue of two tendencies present in Israel from the first, the followers of Jesus being the spiritual seed of the prophets, in contrast to Israel as a nation which had in its official leaders and policy always resisted the Holy Spirit. Incidentally, too, he shewed that the centralization of its worship in Jerusalem and the temple, as to the honour of which they were so jealous, was not essential to the religion of Abraham, Moses, David, and the Prophets. The die was now cast, though all in the new community did not yet realize it: the old and the new were differentiated; and the new Israel, like a seed-pod containing the essential life of the plant, was shaken by persecution, and shed its quickening germs abroad beyond Jerusalem and even Judæa.

Thus did Providence overrule all for the larger fulfilment of its ends. This principle comes out most strikingly in the special case of one who had been most hostile before, but who was led, amid the very persecution stirred by Stephen's exposition of his Master's gospel, to a complete change of attitude. The arch-persecutor Saul became the prime propagator of the faith. Meantime the new germs were by degrees taking root in fresh fields not of man's choosing, but of God's, who by the logic of facts indicated that these fields too came within the scope of the Divine purpose. In this way the thoughts of the original witnesses were enlarged, as with humble docility they followed the lead of the Spirit in the process which proved that the restrictive conditions of membership in the old Israel had been superseded by the purely spiritual condition of heart-receptiveness, wherever found. So long as such progress went on within Palestine, the ancient home of Israel,

the leading part was played by the chief of the original 'commissioned ones' or apostles, Peter: and the means by which he and others were led of God to larger thoughts of 'the kingdom' are most carefully traced[1]. In connexion also with Peter's ministry, the Divine care watching over the interests of 'the kingdom' is exemplified by the futile attempt of the Jewish king, Agrippa I, to arrest the progress of the new faith, an attempt followed by his own tragic death. Here our historian inserts a final reference to the growing prosperity of the word of God in Palestine, and so dismisses that branch of his history as containing no further developments in principle, but only continuous growth.

The extension beyond Palestine was entrusted to other hands, those of men whose semi-Gentile training made them the fitter agents for the work. Antioch became the home of a largely Gentile type of Christianity and in due time the centre whence it spread throughout the empire. The predominence of the Divine factor over the human—a leading thought in Acts—appears afresh in the origin of the church at Antioch, which grew out of the preaching of unnamed men; and even the recognition given it by the mother church of Jerusalem came through none of the original twelve apostles, but through Barnabas, a non-Palestinian Jew. And now comes upon the scene the man of Providence beyond all others, the man in whose career Divine grace was most evident; and henceforth around him, as Apostle of the Gentiles and so of the Roman Empire, the narrative more and more centres.

At first, indeed, Saul appears simply as the colleague of Barnabas. But their joint mission in regions beyond has not gone far, before the inner meaning of the Spirit's call to them (recognized as such by the church at Antioch) receives further definition in the lead spontaneously taken by Saul, henceforth the Paul of the second part of Acts.

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[1] See below, p. 27.

The triumphs of the gospel in the empire as viewed by our author, mostly through the witness of his own eyes, are henceforth synonymous with the steps by which this inspired man advanced from point to point of vantage, in his spiritual campaign against the forces of sin and prejudice; until finally he is led, verily 'by a way that he knew not,' to Rome itself, the mighty heart of the world. Mingling with this, is another strand in the history, that recording the relations of Judaism and the advancing gospel in the hands of its greatest exponent. These, while greatly to the honour of Paul, as one loyal to the piety of his nation and considerate of the susceptibilities of those who understood it in a narrower sense than himself (save where the essential liberty of the larger gospel was involved), are a virtual indictment of official Judaism, which proves itself by its prejudice and indocility to have forfeited its ancient birthright in the religion wherein God's presence was chiefly manifest. In this connexion comes in the conference at Jerusalem, where the members of the mother church as a whole, and specially its leaders, definitely dissociate themselves from the narrower tendency in Judaism—now its dominant feature—when in the persons of certain believers of Pharisaic training it attempts to assert itself even within the Christian Church. And they do so, simply because they cannot ignore God's will as manifest in the facts of Gentile Christianity. It 'seemed good' to them because it seemed good to the Holy Spirit, as shewn by His gifts of grace: unlike the Jews as a nation, they would not 'resist the Holy Spirit.' The two strands just referred to, blend in differing proportions in the narrative, the latter and darker emerging into great prominence in Paul's last visit to Jerusalem and his imprisonment in Cæsarea. In their treatment of Paul on this occasion our author sees the final rejection of their true birthright by the Jews as such, and their coincident rejection by God. His mind now dwells with enthusiasm upon the personal bearing of the champion of the gospel

in the hour of his supreme trial, when on his way to Rome to face the unknown dangers that await him there. Hence the vivid and prolonged account of the voyage to Rome, with its hints as to the good impression produced upon the Roman officer who has Paul in charge. Finally, Rome reached, the narrative ends upon its keynote, the rejection of Judaism in its rejection of the gospel; while the attitude to it of the Roman Empire is symbolized in the fact that, throughout the two years pending the final hearing of Paul's appeal from the Jewish authorities to the emperor, Paul is left free to declare his message in Rome itself 'without hindrance.'

2. Three ideas stand out from this survey unmistakably.

(1) The *Divine initiative* behind the apostles and other witnesses. The Holy Spirit is the prime factor in this story from first to last: 'we are witnesses of these things, and the Holy Spirit which God gave to them that obey Him' (v. 32).

(2) The *universality* of the gospel, which step by step wins its way to wider circles and among all sorts and conditions of men, throwing off in virtue of its inherent nature all the restrictions of Jewish nationalism. It is thus the one religion fitted to be that of the whole empire; and its destiny in this direction is clear from what it has already accomplished, especially in the person of Paul, its typical exponent.

(3) The determined *hostility of Judaism as a national religion* to this gospel—and that owing to no disloyalty or provocation on the part of its original preachers, who always appealed to the Jewish scriptures and everywhere gave the Jews the first chance of receiving it: see xxvi. 22 f.

III. Occasion and Aim.

When we consider the two latter points in combination, we get our most valuable index to the occasion of the book. The situation contemplated is one in which the truth of

Christianity appeared specially to be compromised by its relation to Judaism. On the one side, it was damaging to Christianity to be denounced as 'apostasy' from Judaism, which enjoyed such privileges as it had in the Roman Empire in virtue of its being an ancient national faith. On the other side lay the strong feeling against Judaism as a narrow and exclusive type of religion: and this must have been greatly intensified by the fall of Jerusalem and the temple in A. D. 70 before the Roman arms. For this event seemed to have destroyed the last claim of Judaism to attention on the ground of its enjoying the special favour of the God of heaven and earth. But its effect upon the position of Christianity in the eyes of thinking men, both within and without the borders of the church, must also have been very great. For the gospel must have appeared to many, if not to most, an outgrowth of Judaism. But if the trunk itself were suffered of God to fall before the might of the Roman—the Jehovah of Judaism being no match, as it seemed, for Jupiter Capitolinus—how could its outgrowth fail to lose claim to the credence of mankind as the religion approved by the God of Israel? Obviously the answer to either difficulty lay in a more correct view of the original and inherent relations between Christianity and Judaism. Christianity was no mere offshoot of Judaism; it was a new springing-forth of its root, the faith of the founders of the Hebrew nation and of its prophets. Of this Judaism was but the decaying stem. Such a view was more than theory; it was the moral of all their relations since Judaism, i. e. the Jewish nation under its leaders, had crucified the prophet and founder of Christianity as a false Messiah. And as they had treated the Master, so had they treated his disciples, so far at least as they had not been controlled by Roman law and equity. Thus the enmity of Judaism and its misfortunes alike confirmed rather than compromised Christianity.

Accordingly, if Luke's Gospel was written to reassure

the faith of a Gentile believer shortly after the tragedy of A.D. 70, to help him to realize the firm basis of historical fact upon which the gospel of Christ reposed, and to emphasize the radical incompatibility from the first between it and official Judaism, it is most natural, in view of its opening words, to regard Acts in a similar light. It was meant, that is, to deepen and extend his impression of the inherent catholicity and divinity of the gospel as compared with Judaism, that narrow and spurious form of the religion of the Old Testament which had so recently been disowned by the Providence which rules in history. Thus we perceive the essential continuity of interest which Acts evidently discloses in its opening paragraph. The wonderful spread of Christianity, from its cradle in Jerusalem, throughout the great cities of the empire, even unto Rome itself, exhibits the universality of its spirit; and the bitter opposition which it encountered from the authorities of Judaism, with their well-known narrow 'particularism'—the outcome of intense national pride—is only a fresh witness to this universality. Christianity was no 'hole and corner' religion (cf. xxvi. 26), but one in every way worthy the acceptance of men who sought a faith as imperial in its outlook and as catholic in its spirit as the Roman Empire itself. Thus Luke takes pains to point to the original attitude of various representatives of the Græco-Roman world, particularly of the official representatives of the state, as proving that they felt the distinction in question and were drawn to the spirit of the gospel, in contrast to that of Judaism. So far, then, from recent events having invalidated the claims of Christianity, they tended powerfully to establish them, by making clear even to the blindest what before was evident to those acquainted with the facts connected with the propagation of the gospel. As to the fact that the gospel was propagated at all, and that in the striking degree set forth by Acts, in the teeth of Jewish opposition and innumerable difficulties and hardships—

so marvellous a phenomenon pointed irresistibly to superhuman agency behind the actors (note Gamaliel's emphatic words in v. 38 f.), heroic as many of these are shewn to have been.

Thus the central interest or moral of the story is the Divine origin of the gospel (already made clear in the history of its Founder) and the Divine power at work in all the human agents in its notable propagation. Here lies the meaning of the opening verses and of the emphatic account of the Day of Pentecost, which stands in the forefront of Acts as the baptism and the sermon in the synagogue at Nazareth stand in the forefront of the gospel. This view, which gives the book an essentially religious aim and emphasis, appears to include all important elements thrown into relief by current theories of the scope and occasion of Acts. The one recently brought into vogue by the labours of Professor Ramsay, which sees in the emphasis placed on the attitude of Roman officials proof that the work was occasioned chiefly by the prevalence of official persecution of the Christian name, seems inadequate, if not somewhat misleading. It gives no good account of the large space devoted to the relations between the gospel and Judaism, even where the Roman Empire never comes upon the scene[1]. It is quite possible, however, that whilst the occasion of writing was as suggested above, the writer of Acts embraced the opportunity to convince his readers by examples that the relations between the Roman state and the church were originally more kindly than those existing at the time when he wrote, and that consequently they might change again for the better. The turn of the sentence in xiv. 22, 'through many afflictions *we* must enter into the kingdom of God,' perhaps hints at a lesson of present application.

[1] See the quotation from J. Weiss, on p. 2. Indirectly, indeed, the argument that 'Christianity is the true Judaism' would help to shield the former by connecting it with the recognized status of the religion of Israel (*religio licita*).

IV. The Parousia Hope.

There was one preoccupation of the Christian mind during the Apostolic Age which must never be forgotten in considering its hopes and fears, its perplexities and reassurances. And that was the supreme hope filling every breast at once with joy and awe, 'the hope of His calling,' 'the inheritance' at the eagerly awaited return in glory of Messiah, who had already 'sealed' his own 'with the Holy Spirit of (the) promise' (Eph. i. 13 f., 18–20: cf. Acts xx. 32). Its delay must have caused searching of heart following on feverish expectation, such as is checked in Paul's letters to the Thessalonians by the reminder that certain things must occur before the return (*parousia*) can he really imminent (cf. James v. 7–10). The essential signs were the final 'apostasy' of God's chosen nation, the Jews (already visible in their rejection of Jesus, the true Messiah, and of his witnesses, 1 Thess. ii. 14–16; 2 Thess. i. 6–10), and the full revelation of the powers of Antichrist among men—to be followed by their overthrow at the hands of Messiah (2 Thess. ii. 2 ff.). How great, then, the expectancy, when the Jewish revolt in A. D. 66–70 shewed increasingly the features of a God-forsaken and self-willed fanaticism, and when coincidently the powers of evil and disorder in the Roman Empire seemed to be let loose! The conditions of a general dissolution of things, which the Messianic tradition had for generations recognized as the prelude of the Messianic 'kingdom of God,' were being realized; and the tension of feeling among Christians must have been immense. For was not Messiah reported to have said (Mark xiii. 30; Luke xxi. 32: cf. Mark ix. 1; Luke ix. 27), on the eve of his departure, that 'this generation shall not pass away till all things (touching the kingdom of God) be accomplished'? Already many of his generation had passed away: surely it was full time to 'lift up the head' and watch eagerly for the 'redemption' at hand; for the things foretold were

'beginning to come to pass' (so Luke xxi. 28, 31 f.). But when Jerusalem itself, after a long siege, sank into ruins with its desecrated temple, to the thrill of horror in Christian breasts, Jewish and Gentile, succeeded an awful expectancy that soon, very soon, they might be called to 'stand before the Son of Man' (Luke xxi. 36).

If one reads the parallel accounts of the Christian hope as given in our first three Gospels, one cannot help feeling that Luke's, as compared with Mark's (the earliest written form) in particular, pulsates with the feelings evoked by this actual crisis. That is, its report of the church's tradition of the Master's conversation with his disciples is coloured by the experience of its partial fulfilment. 'The days of vengeance' on apostate Judaism, the 'great distress upon the land, and wrath upon this people' (Luke xxi. 22 f.: cf. xi. 50 f., xix. 27, 41–44), are already facts before his readers' eyes. It only remains that 'the times of the Gentiles (of unknown but short duration, since *all* must be over before the generation dies out) be fulfilled'; and the horrors of the period of civil war in the empire, still continuing for a year or so after the fall of the sacred city, may well herald the yet more universal distress, amid which the Son of Man will be seen of all men 'coming in a cloud with power and great glory' (xxi. 24–27). The call to Christians, then, was: Look up, redemption is nigh. Take heed lest your hearts be found ensnared by worldliness, and ye prevail not to escape the final evils at hand (by sharing in the prior rapture of the elect, 'gathered together from the four winds' to the side of their king, Mark xiii. 27; 2 Thess. ii. 1; 1 Thess. iv. 16 f.), and 'to stand before the Son of man' (Luke xxi. 34–36).

Now, if we view Acts as the strict continuation of Luke's Gospel (and this is the true test for theories of Acts), such an occasion gives it a most vivid actuality and relevance to the needs of the time. Thus in the trials of the Christians, especially in its first part, conscious illustra-

tion is afforded of the words[1], '*before all these things* (the signs of the end) they shall lay their hands on you, and shall persecute you, delivering you up to the synagogues *and prisons*, bringing you before kings and governors for My name's sake. It shall turn out *unto you for witness. Settle it*, then, *in your hearts*, not to premeditate how to *make defence*: for I will give you a *mouth and wisdom*, which *all your adversaries* shall not be able to *withstand* or to *gainsay*... and *they shall put to death* (*some*) *of you*.... In your endurance ye shall win your souls' (cf. Acts xiv. 22).

Again the references to the 'times and seasons' of the 'restoration' of 'the kingdom to Israel' (Acts i. 6f.), and the definite statement that Jesus would indeed return even as he had disappeared from Mount Olivet, are seen to have a practical interest corresponding to their place in the forefront of a narrative which puts in nothing (least of all in the opening verses) without set purpose. To many it must have seemed as if the events of A. D. 70 killed all hope that the kingdom would be 'restored to Israel' in the sense hitherto expected. Some sort of answer to the perplexities thus raised was needful. And while it is not clear how far Luke wished to suggest by his answer that the original form of the disciples' expectation was partly erroneous, he evidently felt that the true solution of all the problems involved lay in the real presence and reign of Messiah among his people, through the manifest presence of the Spirit; so that the exact time and form of the visible return of Messiah could be left to God. Thus the citation from Joel of the signs of 'the Day of the Lord, that great and notable one,' and of the salvation of those who invoke the name of the Lord, gains fresh pertinence. The decisive day will dawn; but meantime the main matter is to recognize in the present Spirit the distinctive feature

[1] Luke xxi. 12–19. Words in italics denote deviation from Mark either in emphasis or turn of thought, e. g. the reference to certain as martyred by their (Jewish) foes—where Mark refers to members of a family bringing each other to death.

of the days immediately preceding, and so the pledge that Jesus is already installed in power as Messiah, and is in touch with believers in his name for forgiveness and inheritance in the consummated Kingdom. It is this Spirit, shared with the Master, which enables disciples to share his 'cup' or experience, no longer careful about the exact nature of the rewards that shall be added to the service of 'witness' itself[1].

Similarly Luke feels the space given to Stephen's defence well spent. It is virtually a great Apologia (from the inspired 'wisdom' promised in Luke xxi. 15; cf. xi. 49) for the ruin of the temple and its worship (vi. 14), in fulfilment of Christ's own warnings in Luke xi. 47–52. It also brings out the continuity of the Gospel with the religion of the prophets, already implied in Luke xi. 47 ff., as also in Luke x. 23 f., where 'many prophets and kings' are said to have desired to see and hear what fell to the lot of the disciples in the Gospel. Finally, the contrast which this passage draws in favour of 'the babes' in the lore of official Judaism, underlies Luke's fair picture of the life of the brethren (cf. Rom. xiv. 17, the Kingdom of God as 'joy in (the) Holy Spirit'), who were 'unlearned and laymen' in Rabbinic matters, but had been in Jesus' company. Verily his second book may be called further Acts of Jesus through the Spirit (cf. 'the Spirit of Jesus' in xvi. 7). There the Apostolic Age is set forth as presenting a second volume in the Divine history, parallel to the first through the idea of the Church as the Spirit-filled Body of Christ (the idea found, e. g. in Ephesians). And thus the perplexing period of delay no longer seems an anomaly, but has a positive function, and falls into the ordered development of salvation, exhibiting the same principles as the Master's own life of power in weakness.

[1] See Mark x. 37–40. Of the transformation here involved Luke seems to have been quite conscious, omitting as he does in his Gospel all reference to an episode which turned on an ambition outgrown by the apostles as he knew them.

V. Date.

The considerations adduced in the previous sections all point to a date within a very few years after A. D. 70, say 72–75. It cannot be earlier than 72, if we allow for the interval seemingly necessary[1] between the author's two books (the former of which may well date from A. D. 71–72); while a slight indication in xxiii. 34 f. suggests that it was not later than A. D. 74. Other dates consistent with Lucan authorship are about the year 80[2] and the period just after the close of the book itself. Waiving the relation of Acts to Luke's Gospel, the latter date has much to commend it. As has recently been urged, the joyous and serene tone of the whole book seems at first to favour a date before the martyrdom of Paul and the bloody outrage of Nero upon the Christians in 64, when Peter probably suffered. But, apart from the assumption that Paul was released after the two years of Acts xxviii. 30 (which our note on xx. 25 gives reasons to doubt), there is no evidence that the martyrdoms in question cast a permanent gloom over the spirit of a Christian like Luke. Not only would he and most Christians be familiar with the abnormal character of the Emperor Nero in the later years of his reign, and regard his actions as a freak of cruelty rather than as symptomatic of Roman policy; but, on the theory of Acts which we have adopted, the attitude of the Roman authorities to the Church is not a sufficiently primary interest to materially affect the tone pervading the work. The chief reason why the book ceases where it

[1] Because knowledge of the 'forty days' (Acts i. 3) must have reached Luke after writing his Gospel. Yet the interval might be measured by months rather than years (see further, p. 31, note 2).

[2] Some considerations, tending to shew that this is some years too late, are given on p. 28 and note. Luke's supposed dependence on Josephus is discussed in notes on v. 36 ff., xii. 20 ff., xxi. 38. Josephus' *Jewish War* (before A. D. 75) and Acts may well be viewed as outcomes of the situation created for Jews and Christians respectively by the Jewish tragedy of A. D. 70.

does is probably that, Paul's active career having reached its climax and indeed being practically over, his companion Luke had no more matter bearing on his main themes (the universal scope of the Gospel, and the negative relations between it and actual Judaism) of such importance as to appear other than an anti-climax to the situation depicted in his last chapter. As for his supposed failure to make use of the fall of Jerusalem as a reply to Judaism, he had really no need so to do. Not only was the fact too patent to require any formal reminder (beyond the allusions in the Gospel: cf. Acts vi. 14), but on our theory it was this event that helped to create the difficulty for Christianity which largely occasioned Luke's writings. On the other hand, the absence of all bitterness of tone towards the Jews forms an argument for a relatively early date[1]. For while Christian literature after A. D. 70 is generally marked by a hard tone towards its Jewish foes—now lying, as it were, under the ban of God—Luke seems only to echo the pathos with which his master Paul was wont to refer to the blindness of his fellow countrymen (Rom. ix. 1-3, x. 2).

VI. Author, Sources of Information, Personal Traits.

1. And so we pass naturally to the question of authorship. That Luke, 'the physician beloved' (Col. iv. 14: cf. Philem. 24; 2 Tim. iv. 11), was the author of Acts, as of the third Gospel (the authorship of the one carries with it that of the other), is the uniform witness of antiquity. Nearly all critics of every school admit that Luke had some hand in Acts, though many confine his part to the authorship of a document underlying the so-called 'we'

[1] See specially the allowance made in iii. 17, 'I wot that *in ignorance* ye did it, as did *also your rulers*.' It is in this respect, above most others, that theories which put Acts in the second century offend the historic sense by placing the work out of 'correspondence with its environment' (see also p. 28).

sections, beginning at Acts xvi. 10 and recurring at intervals down to the last chapter. This theory the present writer regards as untenable for reasons given in the note on xvi. 10, where it is also argued (*a*) that there never was a 'we' document apart from Acts, and (*b*) that Luke, who speaks as an eye-witness wherever 'we' occurs, does not cease to be eye-witness when the first person plural disappears, but in fact remains in Paul's company practically without intermission (see notes on xvi. 40, xviii. 24–28, xx. 2–5). And not only so. It is maintained in the notes, from time to time, that Luke was the eye-witness[1] also of what he records in xiii. 1—xvi. 9. This is most natural, if he was, as tradition steadily alleges, a native of Antioch. This tradition, found already in Eusebius (*Eccl. Hist.* iii. 4), appears in most detail in a preface to Luke's Gospel preserved in Jerome's Vulgate, and traced by Harnack to the third century at latest. It reads: 'Luke, by nation a Syrian of Antioch, a disciple of (the) apostles, was afterwards a follower of Paul, till his confession (martyrdom), serving the Lord blamelessly. For having neither wife nor children, he died in Bithynia at the age of seventy-four, filled with the Holy Ghost.' But yet earlier evidence for Luke as a member of the church at Antioch, is furnished by words added to xi. 27 in *Codex Bezae* (see note on passage), words which seem to imply that Acts was written at Antioch, on the whole the most likely place for its origin[2]. Observe too his feeling

[1] Note the two names of the *magus* at Paphos, Bar-Jesus and Elymas (xiii. 6, 8), and the two forms in which Lystra appears in the Greek (xiv. 6, 8, xvi. 1 f.), touches which would hardly be preserved in an oral report; while we should need a second Luke as author of such a written source as would record matters of this sort. Note also the 'we' in xiv. 22.

[2] There was a large Jewish population in Antioch, a fact which would make a good deal in chaps. iii–v. the more pertinent (see e. g. v. 41). Further, such a theory suits its familiarity with the coasts, islands, and sea-routes of the eastern Mediterranean (between Crete and Antioch), and the grouping of countries

description of the visit of Barnabas to Antioch (xi. 23–26), e.g. the characterization of him as 'a good (kindly) man, and full of the Holy Spirit and of faith,' and the picture of Barnabas and Saul as 'hospitably entertained' by the church for a whole year (see note on xi. 26).

2. Assuming then that Luke writes the second half of Acts (xiii. to end), and also the account of the foundation of the church at Antioch and the Famine episode (xi. 19–30), from personal knowledge, what shall we say of his materials for the rest of the book? Though the present writer has gone into the subject with some thoroughness, he can here only sum up his impressions without attempting proof. The hypothesis of written sources behind Acts i–xii. for long appeared to him probable, from the analogy of Luke's Gospel, from the highly Jewish and archaic cast of the Petrine speeches and of a good deal of the language even in the narrative, and especially from the occurrence of obscure names (see i. 23, iv. 6, v. 1, vi. 5, cf. 9, ix. 11, 34, 36, 43, xi. 19, xii. 12 f., cf. 17, 20). But after working for several years on such an assumption, growing familiarity with Luke's style, mind, and methods of working began to make it seem superfluous, if not embarrassing. And as the conviction grew that Luke was himself the observer to whom we owe the preservation of all those concrete details of name and circumstance which mark the whole of Acts xiii–end, the existence of an early document or documents containing just the same sort of things as mark out Luke himself appeared increasingly dubious. When, further, it became apparent that Luke must have taken notes of what went on in Jerusalem and Cæsarea during his presence there with Paul (see notes for the touches both in speeches and narrative which require this), it seemed best to explain the phenomena of i–xii. as those

represented at Pentecost, notably the 'Cretans and Arabians' tacked on as an after-thought. The references to the topography of Rome, on the other hand, may be explained by the Roman origin of 'Theophilus.'

of a narrative written on the basis of similar notes of conversations with eye-witnesses and others in Jerusalem and Cæsarea touching those early days. Who these informants were we can fix with some probability in certain cases. Thus Philip the Evangelist, whom Luke met at Cæsarea (xxi. 8, cf. viii. 40), and his four prophetic daughters, come readily to mind for the events in which Philip is named as playing a part (vi. 1–6, viii. 4–40), though some touches (e. g. in viii. 39 f.) may be due to popular re-telling of the stories in Cæsarea. Next the string of narratives in ix. 32—xi. 18 connect themselves easily with Cæsarea (see ix. 43, x. 1, 5), as does also the narrative about Agrippa I in xii. 20–23. As for xii. 1–19, the reference to the house of Mary, the mother of John Mark, along with the name Rhoda and the realism of what follows (12–17), may well suggest the source of information in this case (some touches make us think of the mother, as well as the son, as Luke's informant). Passing back to Paul's conversion and early history in ix. 1–30, comparison of his speeches (based on notes taken at Cæsarea), and several rather personal touches (see notes on ix. 4, 9, 11, 18 f., 20, 22, 23–25, 26 f.), make intercourse with Paul the most probable source for these sections.

As to the materials of Acts i–vii. In the notes reason has been given for ranking Paul himself among the sources of Luke's knowledge of Stephen's defence and martyrdom (chap. vii), and also perhaps for the account of what leads up to it (vi. 9–15). Only here, as for i–v, we are most at a loss to narrow down the possibilities, which now embrace the Hellenists who brought the Gospel to Antioch[1]. On the whole, however, one is inclined to think that it was in Cæsarea[2] that Luke collected most of his notes (dictated

[1] Quite likely a good deal rests ultimately on traditions in the Antiochene church derived from such men (cf. xiii. 1): e. g. the story of Pentecost and much of vi–vii.

[2] There many Hellenistic refugees from Jerusalem would naturally reside and form a local tradition touching the days before Stephen's martyrdom.

notes in some cases) for these chapters, in which the Jewish colour is at times very marked, especially in the speeches. These embody forms of religious conception and speech which were peculiar to the earliest days of transition, when the hopes of the New Israel naturally ran into the old mould, before experience brought another and less national notion of the Messianic Kingdom.

We have yet to consider whether Acts presupposes any use of Paul's letters. The probable answer is in the negative, a remarkable fact pointing very strongly to a personal associate of Paul's, since any other would have been anxious to utilize such first-hand evidence, whereas a personal friend would not feel the need of consulting them[1]. Of course this brings up the problem of the relation between Acts and Galatians. As regards Acts ix. 19 ff., a full discussion will be found in the notes. As to the absence from Galatians of reference to the Famine Visit of Acts xi. 30, xii. 25, which Ramsay has brought to bear on the visit of Gal. ii. 1 ff., a fresh suggestion will be found in the notes, tending to simplify the problem by removing the famine visit from the list of visits to Jerusalem proper. Finally touching the identification of the visit of Gal. ii. 1 ff. with that of Acts xv, the notes indicate some of the difficulties to this view, which seem to the present writer so serious that he has argued elsewhere[2] that Galatians here refers to a visit unrecorded in Acts, because too private to fall within its author's scope. But here one may call attention to the extreme difficulty of supposing that, after visiting the Judæan churches on relief work (xi. 30), Paul could write that he was still 'unknown by

[1] In the note on Titius Justus, in xviii. 7, it is argued that we have there notice of a person (Gaius) mentioned in 1 Cor. i. 14; Rom. xvi. 23, under another name—truly an 'undesigned coincidence.' Again Acts has 'Priscilla,' but Paul 'Prisca.'

[2] In his *Apostolic Age*, 52 ff.: more fully in *Expositor* for October 1899, 263 ff. The elimination of reference to Jerusalem in connexion with the Famine Visit to Judæa in xi. 30, xii. 25, of course strengthens this hypothesis as compared with Ramsay's.

face unto the churches of Judæa' (in the thorough-going sense required by his argument), when he visited Jerusalem as described in Gal. ii. 1 ff.—if we identify that visit with the one in Acts xv. as is commonly done. Further, this theory forces us either to suppose that, even after Acts xv, not only Peter but also Barnabas acted in the vacillating way set forth in Gal. ii. 11–13; or to assume that Gal. ii. 11 ff. happened before ii. 1–10, theories of almost equal difficulty. However most scholars, at least in England, do accept the identification in question. And it only remains to the present writer to point out that the difficulty becomes ever greater, if those who hold that view come to the conclusion to which he himself has come, viz. that Luke was one of the 'certain others' of the Antiochene church who accompanied Paul in Acts xv.

3. At this point reference may be made to some personal traits of our author, as revealed by his work. First, he was in all likelihood a Jewish proselyte, in some degree, before he was a Christian. Evidence of this appears not only in his interest in this special class of Gentiles (cf. 'Nicolas a proselyte of Antioch,' vi. 5, and frequent references to 'God-fearing' Gentiles), but also in his familiarity with the Old Testament and with the Jewish handling of it, and in the allusive way in which he refers to matters of Jewish usage or sentiment, e. g. the Four Abstinences of the Jerusalem Conference, also quasi-Nazirite vows and their conditions (xviii. 18, xxi. 23–27), things rather obscure to us to-day[1]. Next, he probably belonged to the class of freedmen, among whom not a few physicians were to be found; with which the form of his name Lucas, a con-

[1] One may perhaps infer for like reasons that the convert of position (probably a Roman) to whom, under (the veil of) the significant name 'Theophilus' or Friend of God, he dedicates his books, had also been a proselyte in the laxer sense. Thus the Jewish mode of reckoning distance (i. 12) and the dates of Jewish feasts and fasts (xx. 6, xxvii. 9) are assumed to be familiar to him.

traction of Lucanus, would agree excellently. Such a man would be in full accord with Paul's large philo-Roman ideals; while, on the other hand, he would have opportunity to develop that beautiful sympathy with the lowly of all sorts which marks his selection of materials. He has the heart of a philanthropist in so genuine a sense as to overleap the barriers of class and sex (note the allusions to the domestics of Cornelius, Lydia, the Jailor), finding in all the same suffering, but redeemable, humanity. Hence he dwells with special delight on the poor and on those who love and help them; on prayer and the thankful spirit; on joy in the Holy Spirit, apart from worldly conditions of joy. Truly he has all the tender notes of the physician[1], raised to their highest power by 'the grace of God' on which he dwells.

VII. Fortunes of the Book.

It is probable that Acts passed rapidly into circulation among the churches of the empire. Its dedication to an individual of influence, living in a great literary centre like Antioch and having connexions with Rome, would help it to get published in Christian circles at least. It met a want that must have been beginning to be felt, however vaguely; and it met it so fully that the Church seems never to have thought of placing any successor or imitator alongside it as rival for a place among Apostolical and, in course of time, Canonical writings. We need not then be surprised to find traces of its presence in Rome about A. D. 95 (1 *Clement*), and in Antioch (Ignatius) and Smyrna (Polycarp) some fifteen or twenty years later. Further, one or two glosses or extra touches, found in some representatives of the so-called 'Western' text (which really arose in Asia Minor as much as in any

[1] The medical colour of his language in the original is even more evident in Acts than in the Gospel.

one locality), shew a special interest in Ephesus and its vicinity (see notes on xix. 9, xx. 15), and witness to the zeal with which Acts was read there at a relatively early date, say before the middle of the second century.

VIII. The Problem of Jewish privilege in Acts.

Acts as a whole, then, being meant to exhibit the Divine, and therefore trustworthy, nature of the consummated religion of Israel—as distinct from Judaism—and its claims as the absolute religion for mankind, it is clear how central a place is occupied by Stephen's address before the representative court of Judaism. It differentiates the religion of the Spirit, made explicit in the Gospel, from the religion of exclusive privilege which Judaism had come to be; and it shows God's ways, all along, to have been progressive ways. The chapters which follow trace the stages by which the traditional restrictions fell away from the minds of Jewish Christians, as they yielded to the logic of Divine facts wherein the Holy Spirit intimated the present will of Israel's God. Observe the gradualness of this process of extension to all sorts and conditions of receptive humanity: first, to the unorthodox kinsman of the Jew, the Samaritan; next, to a member of a class placed by the Law under special disability, the Ethiopian eunuch, who may be taken as an exceptional case; and finally, to men uncircumcised, though 'Israelites indeed' in the spirit of their piety. The last instance was crucial in principle, though this was not at first realized in all its bearings. For it involved Spirit-baptism apart from circumcision. The leading apostle, Peter, was the chosen medium of this revelation; and the length of the narrative here shows the vital importance of the issue. But it was only after the work of Barnabas and Saul had brought the new class in large numbers into Messiah's Israel, that the more conservative wing of the Jerusalem Church, alarmed at the unlooked-for scale of its operation—the

exceptional becoming the normal outside Palestine—challenged the principle afresh and with set purpose.

This is how Luke tells the story: and how striking a proof of truth it is that he does it so and not otherwise. Think of the tendency—once a great question had reached its crisis and been settled so decisively that church life outside Palestine had for many years assumed it as an axiom—to forget the earlier and tentative stages by which it was reached among plain men of practical temper. Yet Luke has avoided 'the hard logic' of the situation, and describes a graded progress, wrought out not by abstract reasoning but by the steady pressure of Divine phenomena implying supersession of the old restrictions. This argues an early date not only for the writer himself, but also for his work: since interest in this story of piecemeal admission of inconsiderable classes could not long be counted on among Gentile Christians. For Samaritans, eunuchs, and semi-proselytes represented distinctions of little meaning amid the full liberty enjoyed since Paul's labours had made the distinction between Jew and Gentile itself of no practical moment[1].

But while Luke takes pains to shew how large and comprehensive is the absolute religion of the Spirit, he is equally anxious that none should think that they can afford to be content with any stage or type of Messianic religion short of it (cf. John i. 8, iii. 28–34, v. 33–35). This explains the inclusion of the episode touching disciples who knew only John's baptism (xix. 1–6), and even that touching Apollos; though in his case the defect seems to have been theoretic rather than experimental, he

[1] To this argument for an early date one may add the distinctness with which a variety of types stand out from Luke's pages. Stephen, Philip, Cornelius, Barnabas, James, the two Agrippas, Gallio, Felix, Festus, all have their own individuality. This, along with much local colour which would lose its relevance every year after A. D. 70, strongly confirms a date as early as that already suggested.

himself already enjoying a spiritual exaltation (xviii. 25) absent from those others.

IX. Real Gravity of the Problem of the Supersession of Judaism.

The reader to-day is apt to miss the full significance of the issue involved in the previous section. But it was none other than the ever-present problem of a progressive Divine revelation. That which is Divine in origin seems as such to claim abiding validity; yet, in a sense, only seems; for how then could it be progressive? The problem at this time was rendered doubly poignant by the very absolute form in which official Judaism had come to conceive the Law given through Moses. It had practically become for many an end in itself; the sense of any end behind it, by which essential loyalty to its spirit or aim could be tested, was alien to the temper of Jewish legalists. Those on the contrary were few to whom God, as a living Person who might still reveal His will in fresh ways, was all in all. But such could leave to God the care for His own consistency, if only the intimations of His present will were manifest. True, the problem had been virtually answered by Messiah's own example. Those whose trust in Jesus as Messiah was really vital and implicit were conscious, at least dimly, that his attitude towards the Law had been different from that of Pharisaic precisionists. To him 'fulfilment' had not always meant formal observance, e. g. as regards the Sabbath. Hence they were the readier to acquiesce in fresh developments as to the way in which the ends implied in the Law were to be realized. 'The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath,' was the germ. The fruitage in various stages was: 'The Law was made for man, not man for the Law': 'Israel was made for mankind, not mankind for Israel': 'The Jewish Church was made for believing humanity, not *vice versa*'; and finally (may we not add?),

'The Church in any form was made for the Kingdom of God, not the Kingdom for the actual Church.'

But, after all has been said, the problem was in theory a perplexing one, the obsolescence of what had been revealed under Divine sanctions. Nor should we be surprised that many 'men of good will' among Judæo-Christians came only very gradually to distinguish the shadow and the substance (as the Holy Spirit declared decisively for the latter), and to obey God in the fresh light which He caused to break forth upon, and then from, His written Word. In view of all this, the *modus vivendi* agreed on at Jerusalem was a great triumph of grace, wrought in men whose piety was far in advance of their thought, but who were clear that it was false piety to ignore or resist the present will of the living God.

X. LITERATURE.

The following are only a selection from the more recent helps to the study of Acts.

COMMENTARIES.

(*a*) Smaller.

PAGE, T. E., Greek edition. Macmillan.
PAGE and WALPOLE, English edition. Macmillan.
LUMBY, in *Cambridge Bible.*

(*b*) Larger.

BLASS, *Editio Philologica* (1895).
MEYER, eighth edition by Wendt (1899).
KNOWLING, *Expositor's Greek Testament,* vol. ii (1900), where the literature is given in full.

SPECIAL ARTICLES.

LIGHTFOOT, in Smith's *Bible Dictionary* (second edition).
HEADLAM, in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible.*
SCHMIEDEL, in *Encyclopædia Biblica.*
RAMSAY, in *St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen.*

CHRONOLOGY.

	A.D
The Crucifixion	March, 29 (30)
Paul's Conversion	30–33
Paul's first visit to Jerusalem	33–35
Caius (Caligula), emperor	37–41
Claudius, emperor	41–54
Herod Agrippa I, King of Palestine	41–44
Judæa under Roman Procurators	44–66
Paul's visit to Judæa with Famine Fund	c. 46
Paul's First Missionary Journey	47
Jerusalem Conference: Second Missionary Journey	49 (50)[1]
Corinth reached, summer	50
Paul visits Jerusalem: Third Missionary Journey	52
Nero, emperor	54–68
Paul leaves Ephesus for Greece, spring	55
Paul visits Jerusalem, and is arrested, spring	56
Paul confined at Cæsarea	56–58
Paul reaches Rome, early in	59
Paul's martyrdom	61–62
Composition of *Acts*	? 72–75[2]

[1] Henceforward Turner (Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, art. 'Chronology') and Ramsay differ by a year.

[2] Sir J. C. Hawkins (*Horæ Synopticæ*, pp. 143–147), on the ground of certain differences of style and language in Luke's two works, postulates a considerable interval of years between them. But he takes no account of the fact that in the one case Luke had not quite a free hand, because he was but entering into a venerable tradition of Gospel narrative, extending to the very forms in which the Founder's ministry was taught in the church. In the other, his individuality of style could have its own way.

THE

ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

AUTHORIZED VERSION

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THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

Chap. 1

Preface: linking the work to its predecessor. The great commission.

THE former treatise have I made, O Theophilus,
2 of all that Jesus began both to do and teach, until
the day in which he was taken up, after that he
through the Holy Ghost had given commandments
3 unto the apostles whom he had chosen: to whom
also he shewed himself alive after his passion by
many infallible proofs, being seen of them forty
days, and speaking of the things pertaining to the
4 kingdom of God: and, being assembled together
with *them*, commanded them that they should not
depart from Jerusalem, but wait for the promise
of the Father, which, *saith he*, ye have heard of
5 me. For John truly baptized with water; but ye
shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many
6 days hence. When they therefore were come
together, they asked of him, saying, Lord, wilt
thou at this time restore again the kingdom to
7 Israel? And he said unto them, It is not for you
to know the times or the seasons, which the
8 Father hath put in his own power. But ye shall
receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come
upon you: and ye shall be witnesses unto me both
in Jerusalem, and in all Judæa, and in Samaria,

Chap. 1

The Ascension.

and unto the uttermost part of the earth. And 9
when he had spoken these things, while they
beheld, he was taken up; and a cloud received
him out of their sight. And while they looked 10
stedfastly toward heaven as he went up, behold,
two men stood by them in white apparel; which 11
also said, Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing
up into heaven? this same Jesus, which is taken
up from you into heaven, shall so come in like
manner as ye have seen him go into heaven.

The week of waiting.

Then returned they unto Jerusalem from the 12
mount called Olivet, which is from Jerusalem
a sabbath day's journey. And when they were 13
come in, they went up into an upper room, where
abode both Peter, and James, and John, and
Andrew, Philip, and Thomas, Bartholomew, and
Matthew, James *the son* of Alphæus, and Simon
Zelotes, and Judas *the brother* of James. These 14
all continued with one accord in prayer and
supplication, with the women, and Mary the mother

The Apostolate restored to Twelve.

of Jesus, and with his brethren. And in those 15
days Peter stood up in the midst of the disciples,
and said, (the number of names together were
about an hundred and twenty,) Men *and* brethren, 16
this scripture must needs have been fulfilled, which
the Holy Ghost by the mouth of David spake
before concerning Judas, which was guide to them
that took Jesus. For he was numbered with us, 17
and had obtained part of this ministry. Now this 18
man purchased a field with the reward of iniquity;
and falling headlong, he burst asunder in the midst,
and all his bowels gushed out. And it was known 19
unto all the dwellers at Jerusalem; insomuch as

that field is called in their proper tongue, Aceldama,
20 that is to say, The field of blood. For it is written
in the book of Psalms, Let his habitation be
desolate, and let no man dwell therein: and his
21 bishoprick let another take. Wherefore of these
men which have companied with us all the time
that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us,
22 beginning from the baptism of John, unto that
same day that he was taken up from us, must one
be ordained to be a witness with us of his resurrec-
23 tion. And they appointed two, Joseph called
Barsabas, who was surnamed Justus, and Matthias.
24 And they prayed, and said, Thou, Lord, which
knowest the hearts of all *men*, shew whether of
25 these two thou hast chosen, that he may take part
of this ministry and apostleship, from which Judas
by transgression fell, that he might go to his own
26 place. And they gave forth their lots; and the lot
fell upon Matthias; and he was numbered with the
eleven apostles.

The coming of the Spirit.

2 And when the day of Pentecost was fully come,
2 they were all with one accord in one place. And
suddenly there came a sound from heaven as of
a rushing mighty wind, and it filled all the house
3 where they were sitting. And there appeared unto
them cloven tongues like as of fire, and it sat upon
4 each of them. And they were all filled with the
Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other
5 tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance. And
there were dwelling at Jerusalem Jews, devout men,
6 out of every nation under heaven. Now when
this was noised abroad, the multitude came to-
gether, and were confounded, because that every

Chap. 2

man heard them speak in his own language. And they were all amazed and marvelled, saying one to another, Behold, are not all these which speak Galilæans? And how hear we every man in our own tongue, wherein we were born? Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, and in Judæa, and Cappadocia, in Pontus, and Asia, Phrygia, and Pamphylia, in Egypt, and in the parts of Libya about Cyrene, and strangers of Rome, Jews and proselytes, Cretes and Arabians, we do hear them speak in our tongues the wonderful works of God. And they were all amazed, and were in doubt, saying one to another, What meaneth this? Others mocking said, These men are full of new wine.

Peter's speech.

But Peter, standing up with the eleven, lifted up his voice, and said unto them, Ye men of Judæa, and all *ye* that dwell at Jerusalem, be this known unto you, and hearken to my words: for these are not drunken, as ye suppose, seeing it is *but* the third hour of the day. But this is that which was spoken by the prophet Joel; And it shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh: and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions and your old men shall dream dreams: and on my servants and on my handmaidens I will pour out in those days of my Spirit; and they shall prophesy: and I will shew wonders in heaven above, and signs in the earth beneath; blood, and fire, and vapour of smoke: the sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before that great and notable day of the

21 Lord come: and it shall come to pass, *that* whoso-
ever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be
22 saved. Ye men of Israel, hear these words; Jesus
of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you
by miracles and wonders and signs, which God did
by him in the midst of you, as ye yourselves also
23 know: him, being delivered by the determinate
counsel and foreknowledge of God, ye have taken,
and by wicked hands have crucified and slain:
24 whom God hath raised up, having loosed the pains
of death: because it was not possible that he
25 should be holden of it. For David speaketh
concerning him, I foresaw the Lord always before
my face, for he is on my right hand, that I should
26 not be moved: therefore did my heart rejoice, and
my tongue was glad; moreover also my flesh shall
27 rest in hope: because thou wilt not leave my soul
in hell, neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One
28 to see corruption. Thou hast made known to me
the ways of life; thou shalt make me full of joy
29 with thy countenance. Men *and* brethren, let me
freely speak unto you of the patriarch David, that
he is both dead and buried, and his sepulchre is
30 with us unto this day. Therefore being a prophet,
and knowing that God had sworn with an oath to
him, that of the fruit of his loins, according to the
flesh, he would raise up Christ to sit on his throne;
31 he seeing this before spake of the resurrection of
Christ, that his soul was not left in hell, neither
32 his flesh did see corruption. This Jesus hath God
33 raised up, whereof we all are witnesses. There-
fore being by the right hand of God exalted, and
having received of the Father the promise of the

Chap. 2

Holy Ghost, he hath shed forth this, which ye now see and hear. For David is not ascended into the 34
heavens: but he saith himself, The LORD said
unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, until 35
I make thy foes thy footstool. Therefore let all 36
the house of Israel know assuredly, that God hath
made that same Jesus, whom ye have crucified,
both Lord and Christ.

Effect of Peter's address.

Now when they heard *this*, they were pricked 37
in their heart, and said unto Peter and to the rest
of the apostles, Men *and* brethren, what shall we
do? Then Peter said unto them, Repent, and be 38
baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus
Christ for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive
the gift of the Holy Ghost. For the promise is 39
unto you, and to your children, and to all that are
afar off, *even* as many as the Lord our God shall
call. And with many other words did he testify 40
and exhort, saying, Save yourselves from this
untoward generation. Then they that gladly 41
received his word were baptized: and the same
day there were added *unto them* about three
thousand souls. And they continued stedfastly 42
in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in

A summary of the earliest phase in the life of the Messianic community.

breaking of bread, and in prayers. And fear came 43
upon every soul: and many wonders and signs
were done by the apostles. And all that believed 44
were together, and had all things common; and 45
sold their possessions and goods, and parted them
to all *men*, as every man had need. And they, 46
continuing daily with one accord in the temple,
and breaking bread from house to house, did eat
their meat with gladness and singleness of heart,

47 praising God, and having favour with all the people. And the Lord added to the church daily such as should be saved. **Chap. 2**

3 Now Peter and John went up together into the temple at the hour of prayer, *being* the ninth 2 *hour*. And a certain man lame from his mother's womb was carried, whom they laid daily at the gate of the temple which is called Beautiful, to ask 3 alms of them that entered into the temple; who seeing Peter and John about to go into the temple 4 asked an alms. And Peter, fastening his eyes 5 upon him with John, said, Look on us. And he gave heed unto them, expecting to receive some- 6 thing of them. Then Peter said, Silver and gold have I none; but such as I have give I thee: In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth rise up and 7 walk. And he took him by the right hand, and lifted *him* up: and immediately his feet and ancle 8 bones received strength. And he leaping up stood, and walked, and entered with them into the temple, 9 walking, and leaping, and praising God. And all the people saw him walking and praising God: 10 and they knew that it was he which sat for alms at the Beautiful gate of the temple: and they were filled with wonder and amazement at that which 11 had happened unto him. And as the lame man which was healed held Peter and John, all the people ran together unto them in the porch that is called Solomon's, greatly wondering. **Healing of a lame man.**

12 And when Peter saw *it*, he answered unto the people, Ye men of Israel, why marvel ye at this? or why look ye so earnestly on us, as though by our own power or holiness we had made this man **The real ground and meaning of the miracle.**

Chap. 3

to walk? The God of Abraham, and of Isaac, 13
and of Jacob, the God of our fathers, hath glorified
his Son Jesus; whom ye delivered up, and denied
him in the presence of Pilate, when he was
determined to let *him* go. But ye denied the 14
Holy One and the Just, and desired a murderer
to be granted unto you; and killed the Prince of 15
life, whom God hath raised from the dead; whereof
we are witnesses. And his name through faith in 16
his name hath made this man strong, whom ye see
and know: yea, the faith which is by him hath given
him this perfect soundness in the presence of you all.

Blessing in store for Israel on condition of repentance.

And now, brethren, I wot that through ignorance ye 17
did *it*, as *did* also your rulers. But those things, 18
which God before had shewed by the mouth of all
his prophets, that Christ should suffer, he hath so
fulfilled. Repent ye therefore, and be converted, 19
that your sins may be blotted out, when the times
of refreshing shall come from the presence of the
Lord; and he shall send Jesus Christ, which before 20
was preached unto you: whom the heaven must 21
receive until the times of restitution of all things,
which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his
holy prophets since the world began. For Moses 22
truly said unto the fathers, A prophet shall the
Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren,
like unto me; him shall ye hear in all things what-
soever he shall say unto you. And it shall come 23
to pass, *that* every soul, which will not hear that
prophet, shall be destroyed from among the people.
Yea, and all the prophets from Samuel and those 24
that follow after, as many as have spoken, have like-
wise foretold of these days. Ye are the children of 25

the prophets, and of the covenant which God made with our fathers, saying unto Abraham, And in thy seed shall all the kindreds of the earth be
26 blessed. Unto you first God, having raised up his Son Jesus, sent him to bless you, in turning away every one of you from his iniquities.

Interference of the authorities.

4 And as they spake unto the people, the priests, and the captain of the temple, and the Sadducees,
2 came upon them, being grieved that they taught the people, and preached through Jesus the
3 resurrection from the dead. And they laid hands on them, and put *them* in hold unto the next day:
4 for it was now eventide. Howbeit many of them which heard the word believed; and the number of the men was about five thousand.

First official challenge.

5 And it came to pass on the morrow, that their
6 rulers, and elders, and scribes, and Annas the high priest, and Caiaphas, and John, and Alexander, and as many as were of the kindred of the high
7 priest, were gathered together at Jerusalem. And when they had set them in the midst, they asked, By what power, or by what name, have ye done

The defence.

8 this? Then Peter, filled with the Holy Ghost, said unto them, Ye rulers of the people, and
9 elders of Israel, if we this day be examined of the good deed done to the impotent man, by
10 what means he is made whole; be it known unto you all, and to all the people of Israel, that by the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, whom ye crucified, whom God raised from the dead, *even* by him doth this man stand here before you
11 whole. This is the stone which was set at nought of you builders, which is become the head of the

Chap. 4

corner. Neither is there salvation in any other: 12
for there is none other name under heaven given
among men, whereby we must be saved. Now 13
Apostolic constancy.
when they saw the boldness of Peter and John, and
perceived that they were unlearned and ignorant
men, they marvelled; and they took knowledge of
them, that they had been with Jesus. And behold- 14
ing the man which was healed standing with them,
they could say nothing against it. But when they 15
had commanded them to go aside out of the
council, they conferred among themselves, saying, 16
What shall we do to these men? for that indeed
a notable miracle hath been done by them *is*
manifest to all them that dwell in Jerusalem; and
we cannot deny *it*. But that it spread no further 17
among the people, let us straitly threaten them,
that they speak henceforth to no man in this name.
And they called them, and commanded them not 18
to speak at all nor teach in the name of Jesus.
But Peter and John answered and said unto them, 19
Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken
unto you more than unto God, judge ye. For we 20
cannot but speak the things which we have seen
and heard. So when they had further threatened 21
them, they let them go, finding nothing how they
might punish them, because of the people: for all
men glorified God for that which was done. For 22
the man was above forty years old, on whom this
miracle of healing was shewed.

The appeal to God in prayer.

And being let go, they went to their own 23
company, and reported all that the chief priests and
elders had said unto them. And when they heard 24
that, they lifted up their voice to God with one

accord, and said, Lord, thou *art* God, which hast made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and all that
25 in them is: who by the mouth of thy servant David hast said, Why did the heathen rage, and the people
26 imagine vain things? The kings of the earth stood up, and the rulers were gathered together against the
27 Lord, and against his Christ. For of a truth against thy holy child Jesus, whom thou hast anointed, both Herod, and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles, and the people of Israel, were
28 gathered together, for to do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel determined before to be done.
29 And now, Lord, behold their threatenings: and grant unto thy servants, that with all boldness
30 they may speak thy word, by stretching forth thine hand to heal; and that signs and wonders may be done by the name of thy holy child Jesus.
31 And when they had prayed, the place was shaken where they were assembled together; and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and they spake the word of God with boldness.

Chap. 4

Its issue.

32 And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul: neither said any *of them* that ought of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common.
33 And with great power gave the apostles witness of the resurrection of the Lord Jesus: and great
34 grace was upon them all. Neither was there any among them that lacked: for as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold,
35 and laid *them* down at the apostles' feet: and distribution was made unto every man according

Second summary of the condition of the growing community.

Chap. 4

as he had need. And Joses, who by the apostles 36
was surnamed Barnabas, (which is, being interpreted, The son of consolation,) a Levite, *and*
of the country of Cyprus, having land, sold *it*, and 37
brought the money, and laid *it* at the apostles' feet.

The tragedy of Ananias and his wife.

But a certain man named Ananias, with Sapphira 5
his wife, sold a possession, and kept back *part* of 2
the price, his wife also being privy *to it*, and
brought a certain part, and laid *it* at the apostles'
feet. But Peter said, Ananias, why hath Satan 3
filled thine heart to lie to the Holy Ghost, and to
keep back *part* of the price of the land? Whiles 4
it remained, was it not thine own? and after it was
sold, was it not in thine own power? why hast
thou conceived this thing in thine heart? thou
hast not lied unto men, but unto God. And 5
Ananias hearing these words fell down, and gave
up the ghost: and great fear came on all them
that heard these things. And the young men 6
arose, wound him up, and carried *him* out, and
buried *him*. And it was about the space of three 7
hours after, when his wife, not knowing what was
done, came in. And Peter answered unto her, Tell 8
me whether ye sold the land for so much? And
she said, Yea, for so much. Then Peter said 9
unto her, How is it that ye have agreed together
to tempt the Spirit of the Lord? behold, the feet
of them which have buried thy husband *are* at
the door, and shall carry thee out. Then fell she 10
down straightway at his feet, and yielded up the
ghost: and the young men came in, and found
her dead, and, carrying *her* forth, buried *her* by
her husband. And great fear came upon all 11

the church, and upon as many as heard these things. Chap. 5

12 And by the hands of the apostles were many signs and wonders wrought among the people; (and they were all with one accord in Solomon's 13 porch. And of the rest durst no man join himself 14 to them: but the people magnified them. And believers were the more added to the Lord, 15 multitudes both of men and women.) Insomuch that they brought forth the sick into the streets, and laid *them* on beds and couches, that at the least the shadow of Peter passing by might 16 overshadow some of them. There came also a multitude *out* of the cities round about unto Jerusalem, bringing sick folks, and them which were vexed with unclean spirits: and they were healed every one.

Further growth in popular esteem.

17 Then the high priest rose up, and all they that were with him, (which is the sect of the 18 Sadducees,) and were filled with indignation, and laid their hands on the apostles, and put them in 19 the common prison. But the angel of the Lord by night opened the prison doors, and brought 20 them forth, and said, Go, stand and speak in the temple to the people all the words of this life. 21 And when they heard *that*, they entered into the temple early in the morning, and taught. But the high priest came, and they that were with him, and called the council together, and all the senate of the children of Israel, and sent to the prison 22 to have them brought. But when the officers came, and found them not in the prison, they returned, 23 and told, saying, The prison truly found we shut

Renewed opposition.

Chap. 5

with all safety, and the keepers standing without before the doors: but when we had opened, we found no man within. Now when the high priest 24
and the captain of the temple and the chief priests heard these things, they doubted of them whereunto this would grow. Then came one and told 25
them, saying, Behold, the men whom ye put in prison are standing in the temple, and teaching the people. Then went the captain with the 26
officers, and brought them without violence: for they feared the people, lest they should have been stoned. And when they had brought them, they 27
set *them* before the council: and the high priest asked them, saying, Did not we straitly command 28
you that ye should not teach in this name? and, behold, ye have filled Jerusalem with your doctrine, and intend to bring this man's blood upon us. Then Peter and the *other* apostles answered and 29
said, We ought to obey God rather than men. The God of our fathers raised up Jesus, whom ye 30
slew and hanged on a tree. Him hath God 31
exalted with his right hand *to be* a Prince and a Saviour, for to give repentance to Israel, and forgiveness of sins. And we are his witnesses of these 32
things; and *so is* also the Holy Ghost, whom God hath given to them that obey him. When they 33
heard *that*, they were cut *to the heart*, and took counsel to slay them. Then stood there up one 34
in the council, a Pharisee, named Gamaliel, a doctor of the law, had in reputation among all the people, and commanded to put the apostles forth a little space; and said unto them, Ye men 35
of Israel, take heed to yourselves what ye intend

Gamaliel's speech.

36 to do as touching these men. For before these days rose up Theudas, boasting himself to be somebody; to whom a number of men, about four hundred, joined themselves: who was slain; and all, as many as obeyed him, were scattered,
37 and brought to nought. After this man rose up Judas of Galilee in the days of the taxing, and drew away much people after him: he also perished; and all, *even* as many as obeyed him,
38 were dispersed. And now I say unto you, Refrain from these men, and let them alone: for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to
39 nought: but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it; lest haply ye be found even to fight against
40 God. And to him they agreed: and when they had called the apostles, and beaten *them*, they commanded that they should not speak in the name of Jesus, and let them go.

41 And they departed from the presence of the council, rejoicing that they were counted worthy
42 to suffer shame for his name. And daily in the temple, and in every house, they ceased not to teach and preach Jesus Christ.

6 And in those days, when the number of the disciples was multiplied, there arose a murmuring of the Grecians against the Hebrews, because their widows were neglected in the daily ministra-
2 tion. Then the twelve called the multitude of the disciples *unto them*, and said, It is not reason that we should leave the word of God, and serve
3 tables. Wherefore, brethren, look ye out among you seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, whom we may appoint over

The appointment of Stephen and others.

Chap. 6

this business. But we will give ourselves continually to prayer, and to the ministry of the word. 4
And the saying pleased the whole multitude: and they chose Stephen, a man full of faith and of the Holy Ghost, and Philip, and Prochorus, and Nicanor, and Timon, and Parmenas, and Nicolas a proselyte of Antioch: whom they set before the apostles: and when they had prayed, they laid *their* hands on them. And the word of God increased; and the number of the disciples multiplied in Jerusalem greatly; and a great company of the priests were obedient to the faith. 5 6 7

Stephen's activity and his arrest.

And Stephen, full of faith and power, did great wonders and miracles among the people. Then there arose certain of the synagogue, which is called *the synagogue* of the Libertines, and Cyrenians, and Alexandrians, and of them of Cilicia and of Asia, disputing with Stephen. And they were not able to resist the wisdom and the spirit by which he spake. Then they suborned men, which said, We have heard him speak blasphemous words against Moses, and *against* God. And they stirred up the people, and the elders, and the scribes, and came upon *him*, and caught him, and brought *him* to the council, and set up false witnesses, which said, This man ceaseth not to speak blasphemous words against this holy place, and the law: for we have heard him say, that this Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this place, and shall change the customs which Moses delivered us. And all that sat in the council, looking stedfastly on him, saw his face as it had been the face of an angel. 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

Chap. 7

Stephen's defence from Scripture.

7 Then said the high priest, Are these things so?
2 And he said, Men, brethren, and fathers, hearken; The God of glory appeared unto our father Abraham, when he was in Mesopotamia, before he
3 dwelt in Charran, and said unto him, Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and come
4 into the land which I shall shew thee. Then came he out of the land of the Chaldæans, and dwelt in Charran: and from thence, when his father was dead, he removed him into this land, wherein
5 ye now dwell. And he gave him none inheritance in it, no, not *so much as* to set his foot on: yet he promised that he would give it to him for a possession, and to his seed after him, when *as yet* he had
6 no child. And God spake on this wise, That his seed should sojourn in a strange land; and that they should bring them into bondage, and entreat
7 *them* evil four hundred years. And the nation to whom they shall be in bondage will I judge, said God: and after that shall they come forth, and serve
8 me in this place. And he gave him the covenant of circumcision: and so *Abraham* begat Isaac, and circumcised him the eighth day; and Isaac *begat* Jacob; and Jacob *begat* the twelve patriarchs.
9 And the patriarchs, moved with envy, sold Joseph
10 into Egypt: but God was with him, and delivered him out of all his afflictions, and gave him favour and wisdom in the sight of Pharaoh king of Egypt; and he made him governor over Egypt and all his
11 house. Now there came a dearth over all the land of Egypt and Chanaan, and great affliction: and
12 our fathers found no sustenance. But when Jacob heard that there was corn in Egypt, he sent out

Chap. 7 our fathers first. And at the second *time* Joseph 13
was made known to his brethren; and Joseph's
kindred was made known unto Pharaoh. Then 14
sent Joseph, and called his father Jacob to *him*,
and all his kindred, threescore and fifteen souls.
So Jacob went down into Egypt, and died, he, and 15
our fathers, and were carried over into Sychem, and 16
laid in the sepulchre that Abraham bought for
a sum of money of the sons of Emmor *the father*
of Sychem. But when the time of the promise 17
drew nigh, which God had sworn to Abraham,
the people grew and multiplied in Egypt, till 18
another king arose, which knew not Joseph. The 19
same dealt subtilly with our kindred, and evil
entreated our fathers, so that they cast out their
young children, to the end they might not live.
In which time Moses was born, and was exceeding 20
fair, and nourished up in his father's house three
months: and when he was cast out, Pharaoh's 21
daughter took him up, and nourished him for her
own son. And Moses was learned in all the wisdom 22
of the Egyptians, and was mighty in words and in
deeds. And when he was full forty years old, it 23
came into his heart to visit his brethren the children
of Israel. And seeing one *of them* suffer wrong, he 24
defended *him*, and avenged him that was oppressed,
and smote the Egyptian: for he supposed his 25
brethren would have understood how that God by
his hand would deliver them: but they understood
not. And the next day he shewed himself unto 26
them as they strove, and would have set them at
one again, saying, Sirs, ye are brethren; why do
ye wrong one to another? But he that did his 27

neighbour wrong thrust him away, saying, Who
28 made thee a ruler and a judge over us? Wilt
thou kill me, as thou diddest the Egyptian
29 yesterday? Then fled Moses at this saying, and
was a stranger in the land of Madian, where he
30 begat two sons. And when forty years were ex-
pired, there appeared to him in the wilderness of
mount Sina an angel of the Lord in a flame of fire
31 in a bush. When Moses saw *it*, he wondered at
the sight: and as he drew near to behold *it*, the
32 voice of the Lord came unto him, *saying*, I *am*
the God of thy fathers, the God of Abraham, and
the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. Then
33 Moses trembled, and durst not behold. Then
said the Lord to him, Put off thy shoes from thy
feet: for the place where thou standest is holy
34 ground. I have seen, I have seen the affliction
of my people which is in Egypt, and I have heard
their groaning, and am come down to deliver them.
35 And now come, I will send thee into Egypt. This
Moses whom they refused, saying, Who made thee
a ruler and a judge? the same did God send *to be*
a ruler and a deliverer by the hand of the angel
36 which appeared to him in the bush. He brought
them out, after that he had shewed wonders and
signs in the land of Egypt, and in the Red sea,
37 and in the wilderness forty years. This is that
Moses, which said unto the children of Israel,
A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto
you of your brethren, like unto me; him shall ye
38 hear. This is he, that was in the church in the
wilderness with the angel which spake to him in
the mount Sina, and *with* our fathers: who received

Chap. 7

the lively oracles to give unto us: to whom our 39
fathers would not obey, but thrust *him* from them,
and in their hearts turned back again into Egypt,
saying unto Aaron, Make us gods to go before us: 40
for *as for* this Moses, which brought us out of the
land of Egypt, we wot not what is become of him.
And they made a calf in those days, and offered 41
sacrifice unto the idol, and rejoiced in the works
of their own hands. Then God turned, and gave 42
them up to worship the host of heaven; as it is
written in the book of the prophets, O ye house
of Israel, have ye offered to me slain beasts
and sacrifices *by the space of* forty years in the
wilderness? Yea, ye took up the tabernacle of 43
Moloch, and the star of your god Remphan, figures
which ye made to worship them: and I will carry
you away beyond Babylon. Our fathers had the 44
tabernacle of witness in the wilderness, as he had
appointed, speaking unto Moses, that he should
make it according to the fashion that he had seen.
Which also our fathers that came after brought 45
in with Jesus into the possession of the Gentiles,
whom God drave out before the face of our fathers,
unto the days of David; who found favour before 46
God, and desired to find a tabernacle for the God
of Jacob. But Solomon built him an house. 47
Howbeit the most High dwelleth not in temples 48
made with hands; as saith the prophet, Heaven 49
is my throne, and earth *is* my footstool: what
house will ye build me? saith the Lord: or what
is the place of my rest? Hath not my hand made 50
all these things? Ye stiffnecked and uncircum- 51
cised in heart and ears, ye do always resist the

52 Holy Ghost: as your fathers *did*, so *do* ye. Which of the prophets have not your fathers persecuted? and they have slain them which shewed before of the coming of the Just One; of whom ye have 53 been now the betrayers and murderers: who have received the law by the disposition of angels, and have not kept *it*.

Chap. 7

54 When they heard these things, they were cut to the heart, and they gnashed on him with *their* 55 teeth. But he, being full of the Holy Ghost, looked up stedfastly into heaven, and saw the glory of God, and Jesus standing on the right hand of 56 God, and said, Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of man standing on the right hand 57 of God. Then they cried out with a loud voice, and stopped their ears, and ran upon him with 58 one accord, and cast *him* out of the city, and stoned *him*: and the witnesses laid down their clothes at a young man's feet, whose name was 59 Saul. And they stoned Stephen, calling upon *God*, and saying, Lord Jesus, receive my spirit. 60 And he kneeled down, and cried with a loud voice, Lord, lay not this sin to their charge. And when he had said this, he fell asleep.

Stephen's martyrdom.

8 And Saul was consenting unto his death. And at that time there was a great persecution against the church which was at Jerusalem; and they were all scattered abroad throughout the regions 2 of Judæa and Samaria, except the apostles. And devout men carried Stephen *to his burial*, and 3 made great lamentation over him. As for Saul, he made havock of the church, entering into every house, and haling men and women committed

Persecution scatters the Jerusalem church.

Chap. 8

them to prison. Therefore they that were scattered 4
abroad went every where preaching the word.

Philip evangelizes among the Samaritans.

Then Philip went down to the city of Samaria, 5
and preached Christ unto them. And the people 6
with one accord gave heed unto those things which
Philip spake, hearing and seeing the miracles which
he did. For unclean spirits, crying with loud voice, 7
came out of many that were possessed *with them:*
and many taken with palsies, and that were lame,
were healed. And there was great joy in that 8

Simon Magus.

city. But there was a certain man, called Simon, 9
which beforetime in the same city used sorcery,
and bewitched the people of Samaria, giving out
that himself was some great one: to whom they 10
all gave heed, from the least to the greatest, saying,
This man is the great power of God. And to him 11
they had regard, because that of long time he had
bewitched them with sorceries. But when they 12
believed Philip preaching the things concerning
the kingdom of God, and the name of Jesus Christ,
they were baptized, both men and women. Then 13
Simon himself believed also: and when he was
baptized, he continued with Philip, and wondered,
beholding the miracles and signs which were done.

Official incorporation of Samaritans in the Messianic community.

Now when the apostles which were at Jerusalem 14
heard that Samaria had received the word of God,
they sent unto them Peter and John: who, when 15
they were come down, prayed for them, that they
might receive the Holy Ghost: (for as yet he was 16
fallen upon none of them: only they were baptized
in the name of the Lord Jesus.) Then laid they 17
their hands on them, and they received the Holy
Ghost. And when Simon saw that through laying 18

on of the apostles' hands the Holy Ghost was
19 given, he offered them money, saying, Give me
also this power, that on whomsoever I lay hands,
20 he may receive the Holy Ghost. But Peter said
unto him, Thy money perish with thee, because
thou hast thought that the gift of God may be
21 purchased with money. Thou hast neither part
nor lot in this matter: for thy heart is not right
22 in the sight of God. Repent therefore of this thy
wickedness, and pray God, if perhaps the thought
23 of thine heart may be forgiven thee. For I perceive
that thou art in the gall of bitterness, and *in* the
24 bond of iniquity. Then answered Simon, and
said, Pray ye to the Lord for me, that none of
these things which ye have spoken come upon me.
25 And they, when they had testified and preached
the word of the Lord, returned to Jerusalem, and
preached the gospel in many villages of the
Samaritans.

Detection of Simon Magus as no true believer.

26 And the angel of the Lord spake unto Philip,
saying, Arise, and go toward the south unto the
way that goeth down from Jerusalem unto Gaza,
27 which is desert. And he arose and went: and,
behold, a man of Ethiopia, an eunuch of great
authority under Candace queen of the Ethiopians,
who had the charge of all her treasure, and had
28 come to Jerusalem for to worship, was returning,
and sitting in his chariot read Esaias the prophet.
29 Then the Spirit said unto Philip, Go near, and
30 join thyself to this chariot. And Philip ran thither
to *him*, and heard him read the prophet Esaias,
and said, Understandest thou what thou readest?
31 And he said, How can I, except some man should

Philip's further activity in extending the Messianic kingdom.

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guide me? And he desired Philip that he would
come up and sit with him. The place of the 32
scripture which he read was this, He was led as
a sheep to the slaughter; and like a lamb dumb
before his shearer, so opened he not his mouth:
in his humiliation his judgment was taken away: 33
and who shall declare his generation? for his life
is taken from the earth. And the eunuch answered 34
Philip, and said, I pray thee, of whom speaketh
the prophet this? of himself, or of some other
man? Then Philip opened his mouth, and began 35
at the same scripture, and preached unto him
Jesus. And as they went on *their* way, they came 36
unto a certain water: and the eunuch said, See,
here is water; what doth hinder me to be baptized?
And Philip said, If thou believest with all thine 37
heart, thou mayest. And he answered and said,
I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God.
And he commanded the chariot to stand still: 38
and they went down both into the water, both
Philip and the eunuch; and he baptized him.
And when they were come up out of the water, the 39
Spirit of the Lord caught away Philip, that the
eunuch saw him no more: and he went on his way
rejoicing. But Philip was found at Azotus: and 40
passing through he preached in all the cities, till
he came to Cæsarea.

Saul's conversion.

9 And Saul, yet breathing out threatenings and
slaughter against the disciples of the Lord, went
unto the high priest, and desired of him letters to 2
Damascus to the synagogues, that if he found any
of this way, whether they were men or women,
he might bring them bound unto Jerusalem. And 3

as he journeyed, he came near Damascus: and
suddenly there shined round about him a light
4 from heaven: and he fell to the earth, and heard a
voice saying unto him, Saul, Saul, why persecutest
5 thou me? And he said, Who art thou, Lord?
And the Lord said, I am Jesus whom thou
persecutest: *it is* hard for thee to kick against the
6 pricks. And he trembling and astonished said,
Lord, what wilt thou have me to do? And the
Lord *said* unto him, Arise, and go into the city,
7 and it shall be told thee what thou must do. And
the men which journeyed with him stood speech-
8 less, hearing a voice, but seeing no man. And
Saul arose from the earth; and when his eyes
were opened, he saw no man: but they led him by
9 the hand, and brought *him* into Damascus. And
he was three days without sight, and neither did
eat nor drink.

The episode of Ananias as medium of a Divine message to Saul.

10 And there was a certain disciple at Damascus,
named Ananias; and to him said the Lord in
a vision, Ananias. And he said, Behold, I *am*
11 *here*, Lord. And the Lord *said* unto him, Arise,
and go into the street which is called Straight, and
enquire in the house of Judas for *one* called Saul,
12 of Tarsus: for, behold, he prayeth, and hath seen
in a vision a man named Ananias coming in, and
putting *his* hand on him, that he might receive
13 his sight. Then Ananias answered, Lord, I have
heard by many of this man, how much evil he
14 hath done to thy saints at Jerusalem: and here he
hath authority from the chief priests to bind all
15 that call on thy name. But the Lord said unto
him, Go thy way: for he is a chosen vessel unto

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me, to bear my name before the Gentiles, and kings, and the children of Israel: for I will shew him how great things he must suffer for my name's sake. And Ananias went his way, and entered into the house; and putting his hands on him said, Brother Saul, the Lord, *even* Jesus, that appeared unto thee in the way as thou camest, hath sent me, that thou mightest receive thy sight, and be filled with the Holy Ghost. And immediately there fell from his eyes as it had been scales: and he received sight forthwith, and arose, and was baptized. And when he had received meat, he was strengthened.

16 17 18 19

Saul's preaching in Damascus: his flight.

Then was Saul certain days with the disciples which were at Damascus. And straightway he preached Christ in the synagogues, that he is the Son of God. But all that heard *him* were amazed, and said; Is not this he that destroyed them which called on this name in Jerusalem, and came hither for that intent, that he might bring them bound unto the chief priests? But Saul increased the more in strength, and confounded the Jews which dwelt at Damascus, proving that this is very Christ. And after that many days were fulfilled, the Jews took counsel to kill him: but their laying await was known of Saul. And they watched the gates day and night to kill him. Then the disciples took him by night, and let *him* down by the wall in a basket.

20 21 22 23 24 25

Saul's first visit to Jerusalem as a Christian: he withdraws to Tarsus.

And when Saul was come to Jerusalem, he assayed to join himself to the disciples: but they were all afraid of him, and believed not that he was a disciple. But Barnabas took him, and

26 27

brought *him* to the apostles, and declared unto them how he had seen the Lord in the way, and that he had spoken to him, and how he had preached boldly at Damascus in the name of Jesus.
28 And he was with them coming in and going out
29 at Jerusalem. And he spake boldly in the name of the Lord Jesus, and disputed against the
30 Grecians: but they went about to slay him. *Which* when the brethren knew, they brought him down
31 to Cæsarea, and sent him forth to Tarsus. Then had the churches rest throughout all Judæa and Galilee and Samaria, and were edified; and walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, were multiplied.

Peter's healing of Æneas at Lydda, and its effects.

32 And it came to pass, as Peter passed throughout all *quarters*, he came down also to the saints which
33 dwelt at Lydda. And there he found a certain man named Æneas, which had kept his bed eight
34 years, and was sick of the palsy. And Peter said unto him, Æneas, Jesus Christ maketh thee whole: arise, and make thy bed. And he arose immedi-
35 ately. And all that dwelt at Lydda and Saron saw him, and turned to the Lord.

The raising of Tabitha at Joppa.

36 Now there was at Joppa a certain disciple named Tabitha, which by interpretation is called Dorcas: this woman was full of good works and almsdeeds
37 which she did. And it came to pass in those days, that she was sick, and died: whom when they had
38 washed, they laid *her* in an upper chamber. And forasmuch as Lydda was nigh to Joppa, and the disciples had heard that Peter was there, they sent unto him two men, desiring *him* that he would not
39 delay to come to them. Then Peter arose and

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went with them. When he was come, they brought him into the upper chamber: and all the widows stood by him weeping, and shewing the coats and garments which Dorcas made, while she was with them. But Peter put them all forth, and kneeled 40
down, and prayed; and turning *him* to the body said, Tabitha, arise. And she opened her eyes: and when she saw Peter, she sat up. And he gave her 41
his hand, and lifted her up, and when he had called the saints and widows, presented her alive. And it 42
was known throughout all Joppa; and many believed in the Lord. And it came to pass, that he tarried 43
many days in Joppa with one Simon a tanner.

Cornelius and his Divinely prepared readiness for the Word.

There was a certain man in Cæsarea called 10
Cornelius, a centurion of the band called the Italian *band*, *a* devout *man*, and one that feared 2
God with all his house, which gave much alms to the people, and prayed to God alway. He saw in 3
a vision evidently about the ninth hour of the day an angel of God coming in to him, and saying unto him, Cornelius. And when he looked on 4
him, he was afraid, and said, What is it, Lord? And he said unto him, Thy prayers and thine alms are come up for a memorial before God. And now 5
send men to Joppa, and call for *one* Simon, whose surname is Peter: he lodgeth with one Simon a 6
tanner, whose house is by the sea side: he shall tell thee what thou oughtest to do. And when 7
the angel which spake unto Cornelius was departed, he called two of his household servants, and a devout soldier of them that waited on him continually; and when he had declared all *these* things 8
unto them, he sent them to Joppa.

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The preparation of Peter.

9 On the morrow, as they went on their journey,
and drew nigh unto the city, Peter went up upon
10 the housetop to pray about the sixth hour: and he
became very hungry, and would have eaten: but
11 while they made ready, he fell into a trance, and
saw heaven opened, and a certain vessel descending
unto him, as it had been a great sheet knit at the
12 four corners, and let down to the earth: wherein
were all manner of fourfooted beasts of the earth,
and wild beasts, and creeping things, and fowls of
13 the air. And there came a voice to him, Rise,
14 Peter; kill, and eat. But Peter said, Not so,
Lord; for I have never eaten any thing that is
15 common or unclean. And the voice *spake* unto
him again the second time, What God hath cleansed,
16 *that* call not thou common. This was done thrice:
and the vessel was received up again into heaven.

The bringing together of Peter and Cornelius.

17 Now while Peter doubted in himself what this
vision which he had seen should mean, behold,
the men which were sent from Cornelius had
made enquiry for Simon's house, and stood before
18 the gate, and called, and asked whether Simon,
which was surnamed Peter, were lodged there.
19 While Peter thought on the vision, the Spirit said
20 unto him, Behold, three men seek thee. Arise
therefore, and get thee down, and go with them,
21 doubting nothing: for I have sent them. Then
Peter went down to the men which were sent unto
him from Cornelius; and said, Behold, I am he
whom ye seek: what *is* the cause wherefore ye are
22 come? And they said, Cornelius the centurion,
a just man, and one that feareth God, and of good
report among all the nation of the Jews, was warned

Chap. 10 from God by an holy angel to send for thee into his house, and to hear words of thee. Then called he them in, and lodged *them*.

And on the morrow Peter went away with them, and certain brethren from Joppa accompanied him. And the morrow after they entered into Cæsarea. And Cornelius waited for them, and had called together his kinsmen and near friends. And as Peter was coming in, Cornelius met him, and fell down at his feet, and worshipped *him*. But Peter took him up, saying, Stand up; I myself also am a man. And as he talked with him, he went in, and found many that were come together. And he said unto them, Ye know how that it is an unlawful thing for a man that is a Jew to keep company, or come unto one of another nation; but God hath shewed me that I should not call any man common or unclean. Therefore came I *unto you* without gainsaying, as soon as I was sent for: I ask therefore for what intent ye have sent for me? And Cornelius said, Four days ago I was fasting until this hour; and at the ninth hour I prayed in my house, and, behold, a man stood before me in bright clothing, and said, Cornelius, thy prayer is heard, and thine alms are had in remembrance in the sight of God. Send therefore to Joppa, and call hither Simon, whose surname is Peter; he is lodged in the house of *one* Simon a tanner by the sea side: who, when he cometh, shall speak unto thee. Immediately therefore I sent to thee; and thou hast well done that thou art come. Now therefore are we all here present before God, to hear all things that are commanded thee of God.

23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33

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Peter's address to Cornelius and his friends.

34 Then Peter opened *his* mouth, and said, Of
a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of
35 persons: but in every nation he that feareth him,
and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him.
36 The word which *God* sent unto the children of
Israel, preaching peace by Jesus Christ: (he is
37 Lord of all:) that word, *I say*, ye know, which
was published throughout all Judæa, and began
from Galilee, after the baptism which John
38 preached; how God anointed Jesus of Nazareth
with the Holy Ghost and with power: who went
about doing good, and healing all that were
oppressed of the devil; for God was with him.
39 And we are witnesses of all things which he did
both in the land of the Jews, and in Jerusalem;
40 whom they slew and hanged on a tree: him God
raised up the third day, and shewed him openly;
41 not to all the people, but unto witnesses chosen
before of God, *even* to us, who did eat and drink
42 with him after he rose from the dead. And he
commanded us to preach unto the people, and to
testify that it is he which was ordained of God *to*
43 *be* the Judge of quick and dead. To him give all
the prophets witness, that through his name whoso-
ever believeth in him shall receive remission of sins.

The Holy Spirit falls on Gentiles.

44 While Peter yet spake these words, the Holy
Ghost fell on all them which heard the word.
45 And they of the circumcision which believed were
astonished, as many as came with Peter, because
that on the Gentiles also was poured out the gift of
46 the Holy Ghost. For they heard them speak with
tongues, and magnify God. Then answered Peter,
47 Can any man forbid water, that these should not

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be baptized, which have received the Holy Ghost as well as we? And he commanded them to be 48
baptized in the name of the Lord. Then prayed they him to tarry certain days.

Peter's action challenged: his successful defence.

And the apostles and brethren that were in 11
Judæa heard that the Gentiles had also received the word of God. And when Peter was come up 2
to Jerusalem, they that were of the circumcision contended with him, saying, Thou wentest in to 3
men uncircumcised, and didst eat with them. But Peter rehearsed *the matter* from the beginning, 4
and expounded *it* by order unto them, saying, I 5
was in the city of Joppa praying: and in a trance I saw a vision, A certain vessel descend, as it had been a great sheet, let down from heaven by four corners; and it came even to me: upon the which 6
when I had fastened mine eyes, I considered, and saw fourfooted beasts of the earth, and wild beasts, and creeping things, and fowls of the air. And I 7
heard a voice saying unto me, Arise, Peter; slay and eat. But I said, Not so, Lord: for nothing 8
common or unclean hath at any time entered into my mouth. But the voice answered me again from 9
heaven, What God hath cleansed, *that* call not thou common. And this was done three times: 10
and all were drawn up again into heaven. And, 11
behold, immediately there were three men already come unto the house where I was, sent from Cæsarea unto me. And the spirit bade me go 12
with them, nothing doubting. Moreover these six brethren accompanied me, and we entered into the man's house: and he shewed us how he had 13
seen an angel in his house, which stood and said

unto him, Send men to Joppa, and call for Simon,
14 whose surname is Peter; who shall tell thee words,
whereby thou and all thy house shall be saved.
15 And as I began to speak, the Holy Ghost fell
16 on them, as on us at the beginning. Then remembered I the word of the Lord, how that
he said, John indeed baptized with water; but ye
17 shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost. Forasmuch
then as God gave them the like gift as *he did* unto
us, who believed on the Lord Jesus Christ; what
18 was I, that I could withstand God? When they
heard these things, they held their peace, and
glorified God, saying, Then hath God also to the
Gentiles granted repentance unto life.

The limits of the Palestinian Ecclesia transcended in the birth of the Antiochene Ecclesia.

19 Now they which were scattered abroad upon the
persecution that arose about Stephen travelled as
far as Phenice, and Cyprus, and Antioch, preaching
20 the word to none but unto the Jews only. And
some of them were men of Cyprus and Cyrene,
which, when they were come to Antioch, spake
unto the Grecians, preaching the Lord Jesus.
21 And the hand of the Lord was with them: and a
great number believed, and turned unto the Lord.
22 Then tidings of these things came unto the ears of
the church which was in Jerusalem: and they sent
forth Barnabas, that he should go as far as Antioch.
23 Who, when he came, and had seen the grace of
God, was glad, and exhorted them all, that with
purpose of heart they would cleave unto the Lord.
24 For he was a good man, and full of the Holy Ghost
and of faith: and much people was added unto
the Lord.
25 Then departed Barnabas to Tarsus, for to seek

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Saul: and when he had found him, he brought 26
him unto Antioch. And it came to pass, that a
whole year they assembled themselves with the
church, and taught much people. And the disci-
ples were called Christians first in Antioch.

And in these days came prophets from Jerusalem 27
unto Antioch. And there stood up one of them 28
named Agabus, and signified by the spirit that there
should be great dearth throughout all the world:
which came to pass in the days of Claudius Cæsar.
Then the disciples, every man according to his 29
ability, determined to send relief unto the brethren
which dwelt in Judæa: which also they did, and 30
sent it to the elders by the hands of Barnabas and
Saul.

Fresh persecution: Peter's deliverance.

Now about that time Herod the king stretched 12
forth *his* hands to vex certain of the church. And
he killed James the brother of John with the
sword. And because he saw it pleased the Jews,
he proceeded further to take Peter also. (Then
were the days of unleavened bread.) And when
he had apprehended him, he put *him* in prison,
and delivered *him* to four quaternions of soldiers
to keep him; intending after Easter to bring him
forth to the people. Peter therefore was kept in
prison: but prayer was made without ceasing of
the church unto God for him. And when Herod
would have brought him forth, the same night Peter
was sleeping between two soldiers, bound with two
chains: and the keepers before the door kept the
prison. And, behold, the angel of the Lord came
upon *him*, and a light shined in the prison: and
he smote Peter on the side, and raised him up,

saying, Arise up quickly. And his chains fell off
8 from *his* hands. And the angel said unto him,
Gird thyself, and bind on thy sandals. And so he
did. And he saith unto him, Cast thy garment
9 about thee, and follow me. And he went out, and
followed him; and wist not that it was true which
was done by the angel; but thought he saw a
10 vision. When they were past the first and the
second ward, they came unto the iron gate that
leadeth unto the city; which opened to them of
his own accord: and they went out, and passed on
through one street; and forthwith the angel de-
11 parted from him. And when Peter was come to
himself, he said, Now I know of a surety, that the
Lord hath sent his angel, and hath delivered me
out of the hand of Herod, and *from* all the expec-
12 tation of the people of the Jews. And when he
had considered *the thing*, he came to the house of
Mary the mother of John, whose surname was
Mark; where many were gathered together praying.
13 And as Peter knocked at the door of the gate, a
14 damsel came to hearken, named Rhoda. And
when she knew Peter's voice, she opened not the
gate for gladness, but ran in, and told how Peter
15 stood before the gate. And they said unto her,
Thou art mad. But she constantly affirmed that
it was even so. Then said they, It is his angel.
16 But Peter continued knocking: and when they
had opened *the door*, and saw him, they were asto-
17 nished. But he, beckoning unto them with the
hand to hold their peace, declared unto them how
the Lord had brought him out of the prison. And
he said, Go shew these things unto James, and to

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the brethren. And he departed, and went into another place.

Now as soon as it was day, there was no small 18
stir among the soldiers, what was become of Peter.
And when Herod had sought for him, and found 19
him not, he examined the keepers, and commanded
that *they* should be put to death. And he went
down from Judæa to Cæsarea, and *there* abode.

Herod's end.

And Herod was highly displeased with them of 20
Tyre and Sidon: but they came with one accord
to him, and, having made Blastus the king's
chamberlain their friend, desired peace; because
their country was nourished by the king's *country*.
And upon a set day Herod, arrayed in royal apparel, 21
sat upon his throne, and made an oration unto
them. And the people gave a shout, *saying*, *It is* 22
the voice of a god, and not of a man. And im- 23
mediately the angel of the Lord smote him, because
he gave not God the glory: and he was eaten of
worms, and gave up the ghost.

But the word of God grew and multiplied. 24
And Barnabas and Saul returned from Jerusalem, 25
when they had fulfilled *their* ministry, and took
with them John, whose surname was Mark.

Barnabas and Saul Divinely called to extend the Ecclesia yet more widely.

Now there were in the church that was at 13
Antioch certain prophets and teachers; as Barnabas,
and Simeon that was called Niger, and Lucius of
Cyrene, and Manaen, which had been brought up
with Herod the tetrarch, and Saul. As they minis- 2
tered to the Lord, and fasted, the Holy Ghost said,
Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work where-
unto I have called them. And when they had 3
fasted and prayed, and laid *their* hands on them,

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4 they sent *them* away. So they, being sent forth by
the Holy Ghost, departed unto Seleucia; and
5 from thence they sailed to Cyprus. And when
they were at Salamis, they preached the word of
God in the synagogues of the Jews: and they had
6 also John to *their* minister. And when they had
gone through the isle unto Paphos, they found
a certain sorcerer, a false prophet, a Jew, whose
7 name *was* Barjesus: which was with the deputy of
the country, Sergius Paulus, a prudent man; who
called for Barnabas and Saul, and desired to hear
8 the word of God. But Elymas the sorcerer (for so
is his name by interpretation) withstood them,
seeking to turn away the deputy from the faith.

Cyprus; the Roman proconsul led to belief.

9 Then Saul, (who also *is called* Paul,) filled with
10 the Holy Ghost, set his eyes on him, and said,
O full of all subtilty and all mischief, *thou* child of
the devil, *thou* enemy of all righteousness, wilt thou
not cease to pervert the right ways of the Lord?
11 And now, behold, the hand of the Lord *is* upon
thee, and thou shalt be blind, not seeing the sun
for a season. And immediately there fell on him
a mist and a darkness; and he went about seeking
12 some to lead him by the hand. Then the deputy,
when he saw what was done, believed, being
astonished at the doctrine of the Lord.

Paul steps to the front.

13 Now when Paul and his company loosed from
Paphos, they came to Perga in Pamphylia: and
John departing from them returned to Jerusalem.
14 But when they departed from Perga, they came
to Antioch in Pisidia, and went into the synagogue
15 on the sabbath day, and sat down. And after the
reading of the law and the prophets the rulers of

The mission in South Galatia opens at Antioch: address in the synagogue.

Chap. 13

the synagogue sent unto them, saying, *Ye* men *and* brethren, if ye have any word of exhortation for the people, say on. Then Paul stood up, and beckoning with *his* hand said, Men of Israel, and ye that fear God, give audience. The God of this people of Israel chose our fathers, and exalted the people when they dwelt as strangers in the land of Egypt, and with an high arm brought he them out of it. And about the time of forty years suffered he their manners in the wilderness. And when he had destroyed seven nations in the land of Chanaan, he divided their land to them by lot. And after that he gave *unto them* judges about the space of four hundred and fifty years, until Samuel the prophet. And afterward they desired a king: and God gave unto them Saul the son of Cis, a man of the tribe of Benjamin, by the space of forty years. And when he had removed him, he raised up unto them David to be their king; to whom also he gave testimony, and said, I have found David the *son* of Jesse, a man after mine own heart, which shall fulfil all my will. Of this man's seed hath God according to *his* promise raised unto Israel a Saviour, Jesus: when John had first preached before his coming the baptism of repentance to all the people of Israel. And as John fulfilled his course, he said, Whom think ye that I am? I am not *he*. But, behold, there cometh one after me, whose shoes of *his* feet I am not worthy to loose. Men *and* brethren, children of the stock of Abraham, and whosoever among you feareth God, to you is the word of this salvation sent. For they that dwell at Jerusalem, and their rulers,

because they knew him not, nor yet the voices of
the prophets which are read every sabbath day,
8 they have fulfilled *them* in condemning *him*. And
though they found no cause of death *in him*, yet
9 desired they Pilate that he should be slain. And
when they had fulfilled all that was written of him,
they took *him* down from the tree, and laid *him* in
o a sepulchre. But God raised him from the dead:
1 and he was seen many days of them which came
up with him from Galilee to Jerusalem, who are
2 his witnesses unto the people. And we declare
unto you glad tidings, how that the promise which
3 was made unto the fathers, God hath fulfilled the
same unto us their children, in that he hath raised
up Jesus again; as it is also written in the second
psalm, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten
4 thee. And as concerning that he raised him up
from the dead, *now* no more to return to corrup-
tion, he said on this wise, I will give you the sure
5 mercies of David. Wherefore he saith also in
another *psalm*, Thou shalt not suffer thine Holy
6 One to see corruption. For David, after he had
served his own generation by the will of God, fell
on sleep, and was laid unto his fathers, and saw
7 corruption: but he, whom God raised again, saw
8 no corruption. Be it known unto you therefore,
men *and* brethren, that through this man is preached
9 unto you the forgiveness of sins: and by him all
that believe are justified from all things, from
which ye could not be justified by the law of
o Moses. Beware therefore, lest that come upon
1 you, which is spoken of in the prophets; Behold,
ye despisers, and wonder, and perish: for I work

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a work in your days, a work which ye shall in no wise believe, though a man declare it unto you.

Contrasted effects of the Gospel on Jews and Gentiles.

And when the Jews were gone out of the synagogue, the Gentiles besought that these words might be preached to them the next sabbath. Now when the congregation was broken up, many of the Jews and religious proselytes followed Paul and Barnabas: who, speaking to them, persuaded them to continue in the grace of God. And the next sabbath day came almost the whole city together to hear the word of God. But when the Jews saw the multitudes, they were filled with envy, and spake against those things which were spoken by Paul, contradicting and blaspheming. Then Paul and Barnabas waxed bold, and said, It was necessary that the word of God should first have been spoken to you: but seeing ye put it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of everlasting life, lo, we turn to the Gentiles. For so hath the Lord commanded us, *saying*, I have set thee to be a light of the Gentiles, that thou shouldest be for salvation unto the ends of the earth. And when the Gentiles heard this, they were glad, and glorified the word of the Lord: and as many as were ordained to eternal life believed. And the word of the Lord was published throughout all the region. But the Jews stirred up the devout and honourable women, and the chief men of the city, and raised persecution against Paul and Barnabas, and expelled them out of their coasts. But they shook off the dust of their feet against them, and came unto Iconium. And the disciples were filled with joy, and with the Holy Ghost.

Chap. 14

Like experiences at Iconium: flight into Lycaonia.

1 And it came to pass in Iconium, that they went
both together into the synagogue of the Jews, and
so spake, that a great multitude both of the Jews
2 and also of the Greeks believed. But the un-
believing Jews stirred up the Gentiles, and made
their minds evil affected against the brethren.
3 Long time therefore abode they speaking boldly in
the Lord, which gave testimony unto the word of his
grace, and granted signs and wonders to be done
4 by their hands. But the multitude of the city was
divided: and part held with the Jews, and part
5 with the apostles. And when there was an assault
made both of the Gentiles, and also of the Jews
with their rulers, to use *them* despitefully, and to
6 stone them, they were ware of *it*, and fled unto
Lystra and Derbe, cities of Lycaonia, and unto
7 the region that lieth round about: and there they
preached the gospel.

Evangelization of Lystra and Derbe.

8 And there sat a certain man at Lystra, impotent
in his feet, being a cripple from his mother's womb,
9 who never had walked: the same heard Paul
speak: who stedfastly beholding him, and per-
10 ceiving that he had faith to be healed, said with a
loud voice, Stand upright on thy feet. And he
11 leaped and walked. And when the people saw
what Paul had done, they lifted up their voices,
saying in the speech of Lycaonia, The gods are
12 come down to us in the likeness of men. And
they called Barnabas, Jupiter; and Paul, Mercurius,
13 because he was the chief speaker. Then the priest
of Jupiter, which was before their city, brought
oxen and garlands unto the gates, and would have
14 done sacrifice with the people. *Which* when the

Chap. 14

apostles, Barnabas and Paul, heard *of*, they rent their clothes, and ran in among the people, crying out, and saying, Sirs, why do ye these things? We also are men of like passions with you, and preach unto you that ye should turn from these vanities unto the living God, which made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and all things that are therein: who in times past suffered all nations to walk in their own ways. Nevertheless he left not himself without witness, in that he did good, and gave us rain from heaven, and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness. And with these sayings scarce restrained they the people, that they had not done sacrifice unto them.

And there came thither *certain* Jews from Antioch and Iconium, who persuaded the people, and, having stoned Paul, drew *him* out of the city, supposing he had been dead. Howbeit, as the disciples stood round about him, he rose up, and came into the city: and the next day he departed with Barnabas to Derbe.

The return journey.

And when they had preached the gospel to that city, and had taught many, they returned again to Lystra, and *to* Iconium, and Antioch, confirming the souls of the disciples, *and* exhorting them to continue in the faith, and that we must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God. And when they had ordained them elders in every church, and had prayed with fasting, they commended them to the Lord, on whom they believed. And after they had passed throughout Pisidia, they came to Pamphylia. And when they had preached the word in Perga, they went down into

Chap. 14

6 Attalia: and thence sailed to Antioch, from whence
they had been recommended to the grace of God
7 for the work which they fulfilled. And when they
were come, and had gathered the church together,
they rehearsed all that God had done with them,
and how he had opened the door of faith unto the
8 Gentiles. And there they abode long time with
the disciples.

The Gentile question raised in Antioch, transferred to Jerusalem.

15 And certain men which came down from Judæa
taught the brethren, *and said*, Except ye be cir-
cumcised after the manner of Moses, ye cannot be
2 saved. When therefore Paul and Barnabas had
no small dissension and disputation with them,
they determined that Paul and Barnabas, and
certain other of them, should go up to Jerusalem
unto the apostles and elders about this question.
3 And being brought on their way by the church, they
passed through Phenice and Samaria, declaring
the conversion of the Gentiles: and they caused
4 great joy unto all the brethren. And when they
were come to Jerusalem, they were received of the
church, and *of* the apostles and elders, and they
declared all things that God had done with them.
5 But there rose up certain of the sect of the Phari-
sees which believed, saying, That it was needful to
circumcise them, and to command *them* to keep
the law of Moses.

The Jerusalem conference: decisive part of Peter

6 And the apostles and elders came together for
7 to consider of this matter. And when there had
been much disputing, Peter rose up, and said unto
them, Men *and* brethren, ye know how that a good
while ago God made choice among us, that the
Gentiles by my mouth should hear the word of the

Chap. 15

gospel, and believe. And God, which knoweth 8
the hearts, bare them witness, giving them the
Holy Ghost, even as *he did* unto us; and put no 9
difference between us and them, purifying their
hearts by faith. Now therefore why tempt ye 10
God, to put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples,
which neither our fathers nor we were able to
bear? But we believe that through the grace 11
of the Lord Jesus Christ we shall be saved, even
as they.

Then all the multitude kept silence, and gave 12
audience to Barnabas and Paul, declaring what
miracles and wonders God had wrought among the
Gentiles by them.

and of James.

And after they had held their peace, James 13
answered, saying, Men *and* brethren, hearken unto
me: Simeon hath declared how God at the first 14
did visit the Gentiles, to take out of them a
people for his name. And to this agree the words 15
of the prophets; as it is written, After this I will 16
return, and will build again the tabernacle of David,
which is fallen down; and I will build again the
ruins thereof, and I will set it up: that the residue 17
of men might seek after the Lord, and all the
Gentiles, upon whom my name is called, saith the
Lord, who doeth all these things. Known unto 18
God are all his works from the beginning of the
world. Wherefore my sentence is, that we trouble 19
not them, which from among the Gentiles are
turned to God: but that we write unto them, that 20
they abstain from pollutions of idols, and *from*
fornication, and *from* things strangled, and *from*
blood. For Moses of old time hath in every city 21

them that preach him, being read in the synagogues every sabbath day. Chap. 15

12 Then pleased it the apostles and elders, with the whole church, to send chosen men of their own company to Antioch with Paul and Barnabas; *namely*, Judas surnamed Barsabas, and Silas, chief 13 men among the brethren: and they wrote *letters* by them after this manner; The apostles and elders and brethren *send* greeting unto the brethren which are of the Gentiles in Antioch and Syria 14 and Cilicia: Forasmuch as we have heard, that certain which went out from us have troubled you with words, subverting your souls, saying, *Ye must* be circumcised, and keep the law: to whom we 15 gave no *such* commandment: it seemed good unto us, being assembled with one accord, to send chosen men unto you with our beloved Barnabas 16 and Paul, men that have hazarded their lives for 17 the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. We have sent therefore Judas and Silas, who shall also tell *you* 18 the same things by mouth. For it seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay upon you no 19 greater burden than these necessary things; that ye abstain from meats offered to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication: from which if ye keep yourselves, ye shall do well. Fare ye well. The Concordat

30 So when they were dismissed, they came to Antioch: and when they had gathered the multi- 31 tude together, they delivered the epistle: *which* when they had read, they rejoiced for the consola- 32 tion. And Judas and Silas, being prophets also themselves, exhorted the brethren with many words, restores peace at Antioch.

Chap. 15

and confirmed *them*. And after they had tarried 33
there a space, they were let go in peace from the
brethren unto the apostles. Notwithstanding it 34
pleased Silas to abide there still. Paul also and 35
Barnabas continued in Antioch, teaching and
preaching the word of the Lord, with many others
also.

Paul and Barnabas go on separate missions.

And some days after Paul said unto Barnabas, 36
Let us go again and visit our brethren in every city
where we have preached the word of the Lord, *and*
see how they do. And Barnabas determined to 37
take with them John, whose surname was Mark.
But Paul thought not good to take him with them, 38
who departed from them from Pamphylia, and went
not with them to the work. And the contention 39
was so sharp between them, that they departed
asunder one from the other: and so Barnabas
took Mark, and sailed unto Cyprus; and Paul 40
chose Silas, and departed, being recommended by
the brethren unto the grace of God.

South Galatia revisited.

And he went through Syria and Cilicia, con- 41
firming the churches. Then came he to Derbe 16
and Lystra: and, behold, a certain disciple was
there, named Timotheus, the son of a certain
woman, which was a Jewess, and believed; but
his father *was* a Greek: which was well reported of 2
by the brethren that were at Lystra and Iconium.
Him would Paul have to go forth with him; and 3
took and circumcised him because of the Jews
which were in those quarters: for they knew all
that his father was a Greek. And as they went 4
through the cities, they delivered them the
decrees for to keep, that were ordained of the

apostles and elders which were at Jerusalem.
5 And so were the churches established in the faith,
6 and increased in number daily. Now when they had gone throughout Phrygia and the region of Galatia, and were forbidden of the Holy Ghost to
7 preach the word in Asia, after they were come to Mysia, they assayed to go into Bithynia: but the Spirit suffered them not.

Paul's course Divinely directed to Greece.

8 And they passing by Mysia came down to Troas.
9 And a vision appeared to Paul in the night; There stood a man of Macedonia, and prayed him, saying, Come over into Macedonia, and help us.
10 And after he had seen the vision, immediately we endeavoured to go into Macedonia, assuredly gathering that the Lord had called us for to
11 preach the gospel unto them. Therefore loosing from Troas, we came with a straight course to
12 Samothracia, and the next *day* to Neapolis; and from thence to Philippi, which is the chief city of that part of Macedonia, *and* a colony: and we were in that city abiding certain days.

First steps in Europe: Philippi.

13 And on the sabbath we went out of the city by a river side, where prayer was wont to be made; and we sat down, and spake unto the women
14 which resorted *thither*. And a certain woman named Lydia, a seller of purple, of the city of Thyatira, which worshipped God, heard *us*: whose heart the Lord opened, that she attended unto
15 the things which were spoken of Paul. And when she was baptized, and her household, she besought *us*, saying, If ye have judged me to be faithful to the Lord, come into my house, and abide *there*. And she constrained us.

First converts, a woman and her household.

Chap. 16

A work of power on a possessed girl

16 And it came to pass, as we went to prayer, a certain damsel possessed with a spirit of divination met us, which brought her masters much gain by
17 soothsaying: the same followed Paul and us, and cried, saying, These men are the servants of the most high God, which shew unto us the way of
18 salvation. And this did she many days. But Paul, being grieved, turned and said to the spirit, I command thee in the name of Jesus Christ to come out of her. And he came out the same hour.
19 And when her masters saw that the hope of their gains was gone, they caught Paul and Silas, and drew *them* into the marketplace unto the rulers,

leads to illegal imprisonment of Paul and Silas,

20 and brought them to the magistrates, saying, These men, being Jews, do exceedingly trouble our city,
21 and teach customs, which are not lawful for us to receive, neither to observe, being Romans.
22 And the multitude rose up together against them: and the magistrates rent off their clothes, and commanded to beat *them*.
23 And when they had laid many stripes upon them, they cast *them* into prison, charging the jailor to keep them safely:
24 who, having received such a charge, thrust them into the inner prison, and made their feet fast in the stocks.

25 And at midnight Paul and Silas prayed, and sang praises unto God: and the prisoners heard

Providential intervention,

26 them. And suddenly there was a great earthquake, so that the foundations of the prison were shaken: and immediately all the doors were opened, and
27 every one's bands were loosed. And the keeper of the prison awaking out of his sleep, and seeing the prison doors open, he drew out his sword, and would have killed himself, supposing that the

8 prisoners had been fled. But Paul cried with a loud
voice, saying, Do thyself no harm: for we are all
9 here. Then he called for a light, and sprang in,
and came trembling, and fell down before Paul
10 and Silas, and brought them out, and said, Sirs,
11 what must I do to be saved? And they said,
Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt
12 be saved, and thy house. And they spake unto
him the word of the Lord, and to all that were in
13 his house. And he took them the same hour of
the night, and washed *their* stripes; and was bap-
14 tized, he and all his, straightway. And when he
had brought them into his house, he set meat
before them, and rejoiced, believing in God with
all his house.

and recognition of their rights as Roman citizens.

15 And when it was day, the magistrates sent the
16 serjeants, saying, Let those men go. And the
keeper of the prison told this saying to Paul, The
magistrates have sent to let you go: now therefore
17 depart, and go in peace. But Paul said unto them,
They have beaten us openly uncondemned, being
Romans, and have cast *us* into prison; and now
do they thrust us out privily? nay verily; but let
18 them come themselves and fetch us out. And the
serjeants told these words unto the magistrates:
and they feared, when they heard that they were
19 Romans. And they came and besought them, and
brought *them* out, and desired *them* to depart out
20 of the city. And they went out of the prison, and
entered into *the house of* Lydia: and when they
had seen the brethren, they comforted them, and
departed.

Thessalonica.

17 Now when they had passed through Amphipolis

Chap. 17 and Apollonia, they came to Thessalonica, where
was a synagogue of the Jews: and Paul, as his 2
manner was, went in unto them, and three sabbath
days reasoned with them out of the scriptures,
opening and alleging, that Christ must needs have 3
suffered, and risen again from the dead; and that
this Jesus, whom I preach unto you, is Christ.
And some of them believed, and consorted with 4
Paul and Silas; and of the devout Greeks a great
multitude, and of the chief women not a few.
But the Jews which believed not, moved with 5
envy, took unto them certain lewd fellows of the
baser sort, and gathered a company, and set all
the city on an uproar, and assaulted the house of
Jason, and sought to bring them out to the people.
And when they found them not, they drew Jason 6
and certain brethren unto the rulers of the city, cry-
ing, These that have turned the world upside down
are come hither also; whom Jason hath received: 7
and these all do contrary to the decrees of Cæsar,
saying that there is another king, *one* Jesus. And 8
they troubled the people and the rulers of the city,
when they heard these things. And when they 9
had taken security of Jason, and of the other, they
let them go.

Berœa. And the brethren immediately sent away Paul 10
and Silas by night unto Berea: who coming *thither*
went into the synagogue of the Jews. These were 11
more noble than those in Thessalonica, in that
they received the word with all readiness of mind,
and searched the scriptures daily, whether those
things were so. Therefore many of them believed; 12
also of honourable women which were Greeks, and

13 of men, not a few. But when the Jews of Thessalonica had knowledge that the word of God was preached of Paul at Berea, they came thither also,
14 and stirred up the people. And then immediately the brethren sent away Paul to go as it were to the sea: but Silas and Timotheus abode there still.
15 And they that conducted Paul brought him unto Athens: and receiving a commandment unto Silas and Timotheus for to come to him with all speed, they departed.

Athens.

16 Now while Paul waited for them at Athens, his spirit was stirred in him, when he saw the city
17 wholly given to idolatry. Therefore disputed he in the synagogue with the Jews, and with the devout persons, and in the market daily with them
18 that met with him. Then certain philosophers of the Epicureans, and of the Stoicks, encountered him. And some said, What will this babbler say? other some, He seemeth to be a setter forth of strange gods: because he preached unto them
19 Jesus, and the resurrection. And they took him, and brought him unto Areopagus, saying, May we know what this new doctrine, whereof thou
20 speakest, *is?* For thou bringest certain strange things to our ears: we would know therefore what
21 these things mean. (For all the Athenians and strangers which were there spent their time in nothing else, but either to tell, or to hear some new thing.)

Paul's speech:

22 Then Paul stood in the midst of Mars' hill, and said, *Ye* men of Athens, I perceive that in all
23 things ye are too superstitious. For as I passed by, and beheld your devotions, I found an altar

Chap. 17

with this inscription, TO THE UNKNOWN GOD. Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you. God that made the world and all 24
things therein, seeing that he is Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands; neither is worshipped with men's hands, 25
as though he needed any thing, seeing he giveth to all life, and breath, and all things; and hath 26
made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation; that they should seek the Lord, 27
if haply they might feel after him, and find him, though he be not far from every one of us: for in 28
him we live, and move, and have our being; as certain also of your own poets have said, For we are also his offspring. Forasmuch then as we are 29
the offspring of God, we ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto gold, or silver, or stone, graven by art and man's device. And the times 30
of this ignorance God winked at; but now commandeth all men every where to repent: because 31
he hath appointed a day, in the which he will judge the world in righteousness by *that* man whom he hath ordained; *whereof* he hath given assurance unto all *men*, in that he hath raised him from the dead.

its effects.

And when they heard of the resurrection of the 32
dead, some mocked: and others said, We will hear thee again of this *matter*. So Paul departed from 33
among them. Howbeit certain men clave unto 34
him, and believed: among the which *was* Dionysius the Areopagite, and a woman named Damaris, and others with them.

18 After these things Paul departed from Athens, Chap. 18
2 and came to Corinth; and found a certain Jew Corinth.
named Aquila, born in Pontus, lately come from
Italy, with his wife Priscilla; (because that Claudius
had commanded all Jews to depart from Rome:)
3 and came unto them. And because he was of
the same craft, he abode with them, and wrought:
for by their occupation they were tentmakers.
4 And he reasoned in the synagogue every sabbath, 'To the Jew first:
5 and persuaded the Jews and the Greeks. And when then to the Greek.'
Silas and Timotheus were come from Macedonia,
Paul was pressed in the spirit, and testified to the
6 Jews *that* Jesus *was* Christ. And when they
opposed themselves, and blasphemed, he shook
his raiment, and said unto them, Your blood *be*
upon your own heads; I *am* clean: from hence-
7 forth I will go unto the Gentiles. And he departed
thence, and entered into a certain *man's* house,
named Justus, *one* that worshipped God, whose
8 house joined hard to the synagogue. And Crispus,
the chief ruler of the synagogue, believed on the
Lord with all his house; and many of the Co-
rinthians hearing believed, and were baptized.
9 Then spake the Lord to Paul in the night by a
vision, Be not afraid, but speak, and hold not thy
10 peace: for I am with thee, and no man shall set
on thee to hurt thee: for I have much people in
11 this city. And he continued *there* a year and six
months, teaching the word of God among them.
12 And when Gallio was the deputy of Achaia, the Paul before Gallio.
Jews made insurrection with one accord against
13 Paul, and brought him to the judgment seat, saying,
This *fellow* persuadeth men to worship God con-

Chap. 18

trary to the law. And when Paul was now about 14
to open *his* mouth, Gallio said unto the Jews, If it
were a matter of wrong or wicked lewdness, O *ye*
Jews, reason would that I should bear with you:
but if it be a question of words and names, and *of* 15
your law, look ye *to it;* for I will be no judge of
such *matters.* And he drave them from the 16
judgment seat. Then all the Greeks took 17
Sosthenes, the chief ruler of the synagogue, and
beat *him* before the judgment seat. And Gallio
cared for none of those things.

The return journey to Antioch.

And Paul *after this* tarried *there* yet a good 18
while, and then took his leave of the brethren,
and sailed thence into Syria, and with him Priscilla
and Aquila; having shorn *his* head in Cenchrea:
for he had a vow. And he came to Ephesus, and 19
left them there: but he himself entered into the
synagogue, and reasoned with the Jews. When 20
they desired *him* to tarry longer time with them,
he consented not; but bade them farewell, saying, 21
I must by all means keep this feast that cometh in
Jerusalem: but I will return again unto you, if
God will. And he sailed from Ephesus. And 22
when he had landed at Cæsarea, and gone up, and
saluted the church, he went down to Antioch.

Paul's last missionary journey:

And after he had spent some time *there,* he de- 23
parted, and went over *all* the country of Galatia
and Phrygia in order, strengthening all the disciples.

Apollos at Ephesus

And a certain Jew named Apollos, born at Alex- 24
andria, an eloquent man, *and* mighty in the
scriptures, came to Ephesus. This man was 25
instructed in the way of the Lord; and being
fervent in the spirit, he spake and taught diligently

the things of the Lord, knowing only the baptism
6 of John. And he began to speak boldly in the
synagogue: whom when Aquila and Priscilla had
heard, they took him unto *them*, and expounded
7 unto him the way of God more perfectly. And
when he was disposed to pass into Achaia, the
brethren wrote, exhorting the disciples to receive
him: who, when he was come, helped them much
8 which had believed through grace: for he mightily
convinced the Jews, *and that* publickly, shewing
by the scriptures that Jesus was Christ.

and in Achaia.

9 And it came to pass, that, while Apollos was at
Corinth, Paul having passed through the upper
coasts came to Ephesus: and finding certain
2 disciples, he said unto them, Have ye received the
Holy Ghost since ye believed? And they said unto
him, We have not so much as heard whether there
3 be any Holy Ghost. And he said unto them, Unto
what then were ye baptized? And they said, Unto
4 John's baptism. Then said Paul, John verily bap-
tized with the baptism of repentance, saying unto
the people, that they should believe on him which
should come after him, that is, on Christ Jesus.
5 When they heard *this*, they were baptized in the
6 name of the Lord Jesus. And when Paul had
laid *his* hands upon them, the Holy Ghost came on
them; and they spake with tongues, and prophesied.
,8 And all the men were about twelve. And he went
into the synagogue, and spake boldly for the space
of three months, disputing and persuading the
9 things concerning the kingdom of God. But when
divers were hardened, and believed not, but spake
evil of that way before the multitude, he departed

Paul, and certain immature disciples at Ephesus.

Paul's great work at Ephesus.

Chap. 19

from them, and separated the disciples, disputing daily in the school of one Tyrannus. And this 10
continued by the space of two years; so that all they which dwelt in Asia heard the word of the Lord Jesus, both Jews and Greeks. And God 11
wrought special miracles by the hands of Paul: so that from his body were brought unto the sick 12
handkerchiefs or aprons, and the diseases departed from them, and the evil spirits went out of them.

Rivalry of Jewish exorcists

Then certain of the vagabond Jews, exorcists, 13
took upon them to call over them which had evil spirits the name of the Lord Jesus, saying, We adjure you by Jesus whom Paul preacheth. And 14
there were seven sons of *one* Sceva, a Jew, *and* chief of the priests, which did so. And the evil spirit 15
answered and said, Jesus I know, and Paul I know; but who are ye? And the man in whom the evil 16
spirit was leaped on them, and overcame them, and prevailed against them, so that they fled out of that house naked and wounded. And this was known 17

overruled for good.

to all the Jews and Greeks also dwelling at Ephesus; and fear fell on them all, and the name of the Lord Jesus was magnified. And many that 18
believed came, and confessed, and shewed their deeds. Many of them also which used curious 19
arts brought their books together, and burned them before all *men:* and they counted the price of them, and found *it* fifty thousand *pieces* of silver. So 20
mightily grew the word of God and prevailed.

Paul's far-reaching plans.

After these things were ended, Paul purposed in 21
the spirit, when he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia, to go to Jerusalem, saying, After I have been there, I must also see Rome. So he 22

sent into Macedonia two of them that ministered unto him, Timotheus and Erastus; but he himself stayed in Asia for a season. And the same time there arose no small stir about that way. For a certain *man* named Demetrius, a silversmith, which made silver shrines for Diana, brought no small gain unto the craftsmen; whom he called together with the workmen of like occupation, and said, Sirs, ye know that by this craft we have our wealth. Moreover ye see and hear, that not alone at Ephesus, but almost throughout all Asia, this Paul hath persuaded and turned away much people, saying that they be no gods, which are made with hands: so that not only this our craft is in danger to be set at nought; but also that the temple of the great goddess Diana should be despised, and her magnificence should be destroyed, whom all Asia and the world worshippeth. And when they heard *these sayings,* they were full of wrath, and cried out, saying, Great *is* Diana of the Ephesians. And the whole city was filled with confusion: and having caught Gaius and Aristarchus, men of Macedonia, Paul's companions in travel, they rushed with one accord into the theatre. And when Paul would have entered in unto the people, the disciples suffered him not. And certain of the chief of Asia, which were his friends, sent unto him, desiring *him* that he would not adventure himself into the theatre. Some therefore cried one thing, and some another: for the assembly was confused; and the more part knew not wherefore they were come together. And they drew Alexander out of the multitude, the Jews putting him forward. And

Chap. 19

His last days in Ephesus: the Riot.

Chap. 19

Alexander beckoned with the hand, and would have made his defence unto the people. But when they 34
knew that he was a Jew, all with one voice about the space of two hours cried out, Great *is* Diana of the Ephesians. And when the townclerk had 35
appeased the people, he said, *Ye* men of Ephesus, what man is there that knoweth not how that the city of the Ephesians is a worshipper of the great goddess Diana, and of the *image* which fell down from Jupiter? Seeing then that these things cannot 36
be spoken against, ye ought to be quiet, and to do nothing rashly. For ye have brought hither these 37
men, which are neither robbers of churches, nor yet blasphemers of your goddess. Wherefore if 38
Demetrius, and the craftsmen which are with him, have a matter against any man, the law is open, and there are deputies: let them implead one another. But if ye enquire any thing concerning 39
other matters, it shall be determined in a lawful assembly. For we are in danger to be called in ques- 40
tion for this day's uproar, there being no cause whereby we may give an account of this concourse. And when he had thus spoken, he dismissed the 41
assembly.

Paul's last visit to Greece.

And after the uproar was ceased, Paul called 20
unto *him* the disciples, and embraced *them*, and departed for to go into Macedonia. And when he had gone over those parts, and had given them much exhortation, he came into Greece, and *there* abode three months.

Corinth once more: the start for Jerusalem.

And when the Jews laid wait for him, as he was about to sail into Syria, he purposed to return through Macedonia. And there accompanied him

into Asia Sopater of Berea; and of the Thessalonians, Aristarchus and Secundus; and Gaius of Derbe, and Timotheus; and of Asia, Tychicus and Trophimus. These going before tarried for us at Troas. And we sailed away from Philippi after the days of unleavened bread, and came unto them to Troas in five days; where we abode seven days. Chap. 20

Troas; the case of Eutychus.

And upon the first *day* of the week, when the disciples came together to break bread, Paul preached unto them, ready to depart on the morrow; and continued his speech until midnight. And there were many lights in the upper chamber, where they were gathered together. And there sat in a window a certain young man named Eutychus, being fallen into a deep sleep: and as Paul was long preaching, he sunk down with sleep, and fell down from the third loft, and was taken up dead. And Paul went down, and fell on him, and embracing *him* said, Trouble not yourselves; for his life is in him. When he therefore was come up again, and had broken bread, and eaten, and talked a long while, even till break of day, so he departed. And they brought the young man alive, and were not a little comforted.

From Troas to Miletus.

And we went before to ship, and sailed unto Assos, there intending to take in Paul: for so had he appointed, minding himself to go afoot. And when he met with us at Assos, we took him in, and came to Mitylene. And we sailed thence, and came the next *day* over against Chios; and the next *day* we arrived at Samos, and tarried at Trogyllium; and the next *day* we came to

Chap. 20

Miletus. For Paul had determined to sail by 16
Ephesus, because he would not spend the time in
Asia: for he hasted, if it were possible for him,
to be at Jerusalem the day of Pentecost.

The farewell to the Ephesian elders.

And from Miletus he sent to Ephesus, and called 17
the elders of the church. And when they were 18
come to him, he said unto them, Ye know, from
the first day that I came into Asia, after what
manner I have been with you at all seasons, serv- 19
ing the Lord with all humility of mind, and with
many tears, and temptations, which befell me by
the lying in wait of the Jews: *and* how I kept back 20
nothing that was profitable *unto you*, but have
shewed you, and have taught you publickly, and
from house to house, testifying both to the Jews, 21
and also to the Greeks, repentance toward God,
and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ. And now, 22
behold, I go bound in the spirit unto Jerusalem,
not knowing the things that shall befall me there:
save that the Holy Ghost witnesseth in every city, 23
saying that bonds and afflictions abide me. But 24
none of these things move me, neither count I my
life dear unto myself, so that I might finish my
course with joy, and the ministry, which I have
received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of
the grace of God. And now, behold, I know that 25
ye all, among whom I have gone preaching the
kingdom of God, shall see my face no more.
Wherefore I take you to record this day, that I *am* 26
pure from the blood of all *men*. For I have not 27
shunned to declare unto you all the counsel of God.
Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the 28
flock, over the which the Holy Ghost hath made

you overseers, to feed the church of God, which he
9 hath purchased with his own blood. For I know
this, that after my departing shall grievous wolves
0 enter in among you, not sparing the flock. Also
of your own selves shall men arise, speaking per-
verse things, to draw away disciples after them.
1 Therefore watch, and remember, that by the space
of three years I ceased not to warn every one night
2 and day with tears. And now, brethren, I com-
mend you to God, and to the word of his grace,
which is able to build you up, and to give you an
inheritance among all them which are sanctified.
3 I have coveted no man's silver, or gold, or apparel.
4 Yea, ye yourselves know, that these hands have
ministered unto my necessities, and to them that
5 were with me. I have shewed you all things, how
that so labouring ye ought to support the weak,
and to remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how
he said, It is more blessed to give than to receive.
6 And when he had thus spoken, he kneeled down,
7 and prayed with them all. And they all wept sore,
8 and fell on Paul's neck, and kissed him, sorrowing
most of all for the words which he spake, that they
should see his face no more. And they accom-
panied him unto the ship.

The rest of the journey to Jerusalem.

1 And it came to pass, that after we were gotten
from them, and had launched, we came with
a straight course unto Coos, and the *day* following
2 unto Rhodes, and from thence unto Patara: and
finding a ship sailing over unto Phenicia, we went
3 aboard, and set forth. Now when we had discovered
Cyprus, we left it on the left hand, and sailed into
Syria, and landed at Tyre: for there the ship was to

Chap. 21

unlade her burden. And finding disciples, we tarried there seven days: who said to Paul through the Spirit, that he should not go up to Jerusalem. And when we had accomplished those days, we departed and went our way; and they all brought us on our way, with wives and children, till *we were* out of the city: and we kneeled down on the shore, and prayed. And when we had taken our leave one of another, we took ship; and they returned home again. And when we had finished *our* course from Tyre, we came to Ptolemais, and saluted the brethren, and abode with them one day.

Final warning at Cæsarea.

And the next *day* we that were of Paul's company departed, and came unto Cæsarea: and we entered into the house of Philip the evangelist, which was *one* of the seven; and abode with him. And the same man had four daughters, virgins, which did prophesy. And as we tarried *there* many days, there came down from Judæa a certain prophet, named Agabus. And when he was come unto us, he took Paul's girdle, and bound his own hands and feet, and said, Thus saith the Holy Ghost, So shall the Jews at Jerusalem bind the man that owneth this girdle, and shall deliver *him* into the hands of the Gentiles. And when we heard these things, both we, and they of that place, besought him not to go up to Jerusalem. Then Paul answered, What mean ye to weep and to break mine heart? for I am ready not to be bound only, but also to die at Jerusalem for the name of the Lord Jesus. And when he would not be persuaded, we ceased, saying, The will of the Lord be done. And after those days we took up our carriages, and

went up to Jerusalem. There went with us also *certain* of the disciples of Cæsarea, and brought with them one Mnason of Cyprus, an old disciple, with whom we should lodge. And when we were come to Jerusalem, the brethren received us gladly.

Chap. 21

And the *day* following Paul went in with us unto James; and all the elders were present. And when he had saluted them, he declared particularly what things God had wrought among the Gentiles by his ministry. And when they heard *it*, they glorified the Lord, and said unto him, Thou seest, brother, how many thousands of Jews there are which believe; and they are all zealous of the law: and they are informed of thee, that thou teachest all the Jews which are among the Gentiles to forsake Moses, saying that they ought not to circumcise *their* children, neither to walk after the customs. What is it therefore? the multitude must needs come together: for they will hear that thou art come. Do therefore this that we say to thee: We have four men which have a vow on them; them take, and purify thyself with them, and be at charges with them, that they may shave *their* heads: and all may know that those things, whereof they were informed concerning thee, are nothing; but *that* thou thyself also walkest orderly, and keepest the law. As touching the Gentiles which believe, we have written *and* concluded that they observe no such thing, save only that they keep themselves from *things* offered to idols, and from blood, and from strangled, and from fornication. Then Paul took the men, and the next day purifying himself with them entered into the temple,

Reception by the leaders of the Jerusalem church: their plan for Paul's safety.

Chap. 21

to signify the accomplishment of the days of purification, until that an offering should be offered for every one of them. And when the seven days were almost ended, the Jews which were of Asia, when they saw him in the temple, stirred up all the people, and laid hands on him, crying out, Men of Israel, help: This is the man, that teacheth all *men* every where against the people, and the law, and this place: and further brought Greeks also into the temple, and hath polluted this holy place. (For they had seen before with him in the city Trophimus an Ephesian, whom they supposed that Paul had brought into the temple.) And all the city was moved, and the people ran together: and they took Paul, and drew him out of the temple: and forthwith the doors were shut. And as they went about to kill him, tidings came unto the chief captain of the band, that all Jerusalem was in an uproar. Who immediately took soldiers and centurions, and ran down unto them: and when they saw the chief captain and the soldiers, they left beating of Paul. Then the chief captain came near, and took him, and commanded *him* to be bound with two chains; and demanded who he was, and what he had done. And some cried one thing, some another, among the multitude: and when he could not know the certainty for the tumult, he commanded him to be carried into the castle. And when he came upon the stairs, so it was, that he was borne of the soldiers for the violence of the people. For the multitude of the people followed after, crying, Away with him. And as Paul was to be led into the castle, he said

Jews from Asia cause Paul's arrest.

Rescue by the Romans.

unto the chief captain, May I speak unto thee? Chap. 21
3 Who said, Canst thou speak Greek? Art not thou
that Egyptian, which before these days madest an
uproar, and leddest out into the wilderness four
0 thousand men that were murderers? But Paul said,
I am a man *which am* a Jew of Tarsus, *a city* in
Cilicia, a citizen of no mean city: and, I beseech
0 thee, suffer me to speak unto the people. And
when he had given him licence, Paul stood on the
stairs, and beckoned with the hand unto the people.
And when there was made a great silence, he spake
unto *them* in the Hebrew tongue, saying,

2 Men, brethren, and fathers, hear ye my defence **Paul's defence before his countrymen:**
2 *which I make* now unto you. (And when they
heard that he spake in the Hebrew tongue to them,
3 they kept the more silence: and he saith,) I am
verily a man *which am* a Jew, born in Tarsus,
a city in Cilicia, yet brought up in this city at the
feet of Gamaliel, *and* taught according to the
perfect manner of the law of the fathers, and was
4 zealous toward God, as ye all are this day. And I
persecuted this way unto the death, binding and
5 delivering into prisons both men and women. As
also the high priest doth bear me witness, and
all the estate of the elders: from whom also I
received letters unto the brethren, and went to
Damascus, to bring them which were there bound
6 unto Jerusalem, for to be punished. And it came to
pass, that, as I made my journey, and was come nigh
unto Damascus about noon, suddenly there shone
7 from heaven a great light round about me. And I
fell unto the ground, and heard a voice saying unto
8 me, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? And I

Chap. 22

answered, Who art thou, Lord? And he said unto me, I am Jesus of Nazareth, whom thou persecutest. And they that were with me saw indeed the light, 9
and were afraid; but they heard not the voice of him that spake to me. And I said, What shall 10
I do, Lord? And the Lord said unto me, Arise, and go into Damascus; and there it shall be told thee of all things which are appointed for thee to do. And when I could not see for the glory of 11
that light, being led by the hand of them that were with me, I came into Damascus. And one 12
Ananias, a devout man according to the law, having a good report of all the Jews which dwelt *there*, came unto me, and stood, and said unto me, 13
Brother Saul, receive thy sight. And the same hour I looked up upon him. And he said, The 14
God of our fathers hath chosen thee, that thou shouldest know his will, and see that Just One, and shouldest hear the voice of his mouth. For 15
his mission to the Gentiles.
thou shalt be his witness unto all men of what thou hast seen and heard. And now why tarriest 16
thou? arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins, calling on the name of the Lord. And it 17
came to pass, that, when I was come again to Jerusalem, even while I prayed in the temple, I was in a trance; and saw him saying unto me, 18
Make haste, and get thee quickly out of Jerusalem: for they will not receive thy testimony concerning me. And I said, Lord, they know that I imprisoned 19
and beat in every synagogue them that believed on thee: and when the blood of thy martyr Stephen 20
was shed, I also was standing by, and consenting unto his death, and kept the raiment of them that

slew him. And he said unto me, Depart: for I will send thee far hence unto the Gentiles. Chap. 22

And they gave him audience unto this word, and *then* lifted up their voices, and said, Away with such a *fellow* from the earth: for it is not fit that he should live. And as they cried out, and cast off *their* clothes, and threw dust into the air, the chief captain commanded him to be brought into the castle, and bade that he should be examined by scourging; that he might know wherefore they cried so against him. And as they bound him with thongs, Paul said unto the centurion that stood by, Is it lawful for you to scourge a man that is a Roman, and uncondemned? When the centurion heard *that*, he went and told the chief captain, saying, Take heed what thou doest: for this man is a Roman. Then the chief captain came, and said unto him, Tell me, art thou a Roman? He said, Yea. And the chief captain answered, With a great sum obtained I this freedom. And Paul said, But I was *free* born. Then straightway they departed from him which should have examined him: and the chief captain also was afraid, after he knew that he was a Roman, and because he had bound him. On the morrow, because he would have known the certainty wherefore he was accused of the Jews, he loosed him from *his* bands, and commanded the chief priests and all their council to appear, and brought Paul down, and set him before them.

Renewal of the tumult: Paul carried inside the fort.

Paul invokes his rights as a Roman citizen.

And Paul, earnestly beholding the council, said, Men *and* brethren, I have lived in all good conscience before God until this day. And the high

Paul before the Sanhedrin:

Chap. 23

priest Ananias commanded them that stood by him to smite him on the mouth. Then said Paul 3
unto him, God shall smite thee, *thou* whited wall: for sittest thou to judge me after the law, and commandest me to be smitten contrary to the law? And they that stood by said, Revilest thou God's 4
high priest? Then said Paul, I wist not, brethren, 5
that he was the high priest: for it is written, Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people. But when Paul perceived that the one part were 6
Sadducees, and the other Pharisees, he cried out in the council, Men *and* brethren, I am a Pharisee, the son of a Pharisee: of the hope and resurrection of the dead I am called in question. And when 7
which is not of one mind on his case.
he had so said, there arose a dissension between the Pharisees and the Sadducees: and the multitude was divided. For the Sadducees say that there is 8
no resurrection, neither angel, nor spirit: but the Pharisees confess both. And there arose a great 9
cry: and the scribes *that were* of the Pharisees' part arose, and strove, saying, We find no evil in this man: but if a spirit or an angel hath spoken to him, let us not fight against God. And when 10
there arose a great dissension, the chief captain, fearing lest Paul should have been pulled in pieces of them, commanded the soldiers to go down, and to take him by force from among them, and to bring *him* into the castle. And the night following 11
the Lord stood by him, and said, Be of good cheer, Paul: for as thou hast testified of me in Jerusalem, so must thou bear witness also at Rome.

And when it was day, certain of the Jews banded 12

Chap. 23

Plot against Paul's life; he is sent for safety to Cæsarea.

together, and bound themselves under a curse, saying that they would neither eat nor drink till
3 they had killed Paul. And they were more than
4 forty which had made this conspiracy. And they came to the chief priests and elders, and said, We have bound ourselves under a great curse, that we
5 will eat nothing until we have slain Paul. Now therefore ye with the council signify to the chief captain that he bring him down unto you to morrow, as though ye would enquire something more perfectly concerning him: and we, or ever he come
6 near, are ready to kill him. And when Paul's
7 sister's son heard of their lying in wait, he went and entered into the castle, and told Paul. Then Paul called one of the centurions unto *him*, and said, Bring this young man unto the chief captain:
8 for he hath a certain thing to tell him. So he took him, and brought *him* to the chief captain, and said, Paul the prisoner called me unto *him*, and prayed me to bring this young man unto thee, who
9 hath something to say unto thee. Then the chief captain took him by the hand, and went *with him* aside privately, and asked *him*, What is that thou
10 hast to tell me? And he said, The Jews have agreed to desire thee that thou wouldest bring down Paul to morrow into the council, as though they would enquire somewhat of him more perfectly.
11 But do not thou yield unto them: for there lie in wait for him of them more than forty men, which have bound themselves with an oath, that they will neither eat nor drink till they have killed him: and now are they ready, looking for a promise from
12 thee. So the chief captain *then* let the young man

Chap. 23

depart, and charged *him*, *See thou* tell no man that thou hast shewed these things to me.

And he called unto *him* two centurions, saying, 23
Make ready two hundred soldiers to go to Cæsarea, and horsemen threescore and ten, and spearmen two hundred, at the third hour of the night; and 24
provide *them* beasts, that they may set Paul on,
Lysias' letter to Felix.
and bring *him* safe unto Felix the governor. And 25
he wrote a letter after this manner: Claudius 26
Lysias unto the most excellent governor Felix *sendeth* greeting. This man was taken of the Jews, 27
and should have been killed of them: then came I with an army, and rescued him, having understood that he was a Roman. And when I would 28
have known the cause wherefore they accused him, I brought him forth into their council: whom I per- 29
ceived to be accused of questions of their law, but to have nothing laid to his charge worthy of death or of bonds. And when it was told me how that the Jews 30
laid wait for the man, I sent straightway to thee, and gave commandment to his accusers also to say before thee what *they had* against him. Farewell.

Paul reaches Cæsarea and is interrogated by Felix.

Then the soldiers, as it was commanded them, 31
took Paul, and brought *him* by night to Antipatris.
On the morrow they left the horsemen to go with 32
him, and returned to the castle: who, when they 33
came to Cæsarea, and delivered the epistle to the governor, presented Paul also before him. And 34
when the governor had read *the letter*, he asked of what province he was. And when he understood that *he was* of Cilicia; I will hear thee, said he, 35
when thine accusers are also come. And he commanded him to be kept in Herod's judgment hall.

Chap. 24

4 And after five days Ananias the high priest descended with the elders, and *with* a certain orator *named* Tertullus, who informed the governor 2 against Paul. And when he was called forth, Tertullus began to accuse *him*, saying, Seeing that by thee we enjoy great quietness, and that very worthy deeds are done unto this nation by thy 3 providence, we accept *it* always, and in all places, 4 most noble Felix, with all thankfulness. Notwithstanding, that I be not further tedious unto thee, I pray thee that thou wouldest hear us of thy 5 clemency a few words. For we have found this man *a* pestilent *fellow*, and a mover of sedition among all the Jews throughout the world, and a 6 ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes: who also hath gone about to profane the temple: whom we took, and would have judged according to our law. 7 But the chief captain Lysias came *upon us*, and with great violence took *him* away out of our hands, 8 commanding his accusers to come unto thee: by examining of whom thyself mayest take knowledge 9 of all these things, whereof we accuse him. And the Jews also assented, saying that these things were so.

The hearing before Felix.

Paul's defence before Felix.

10 Then Paul, after that the governor had beckoned unto him to speak, answered, Forasmuch as I know that thou hast been of many years a judge unto this nation, I do the more cheerfully answer 11 for myself: because that thou mayest understand, that there are yet but twelve days since I went up 12 to Jerusalem for to worship. And they neither found me in the temple disputing with any man, neither raising up the people, neither in the syna-

Chap. 24

gogues, nor in the city: neither can they prove the 13
things whereof they now accuse me. But this I 14
confess unto thee, that after the way which they
call heresy, so worship I the God of my fathers,
believing all things which are written in the law
and in the prophets: and have hope toward God, 15
which they themselves also allow, that there shall
be a resurrection of the dead, both of the just and
unjust. And herein do I exercise myself, to have 16
always a conscience void of offence toward God,
and *toward* men. Now after many years I came 17
to bring alms to my nation, and offerings. Where- 18
upon certain Jews from Asia found me purified in
the temple, neither with multitude, nor with tumult.
Who ought to have been here before thee, and 19
object, if they had ought against me. Or else let 20
these same *here* say, if they have found any evil
doing in me, while I stood before the council,
except it be for this one voice, that I cried stand- 21
ing among them, Touching the resurrection of the
dead I am called in question by you this day.

The attitude of Felix.

And when Felix heard these things, having more 22
perfect knowledge of *that* way, he deferred them,
and said, When Lysias the chief captain shall come
down, I will know the uttermost of your matter.
And he commanded a centurion to keep Paul, and 23
to let *him* have liberty, and that he should forbid
none of his acquaintance to minister or come unto
him. And after certain days, when Felix came 24
with his wife Drusilla, which was a Jewess, he sent
for Paul, and heard him concerning the faith in
Christ. And as he reasoned of righteousness,
temperance, and judgment to come, Felix trembled,

and answered, Go thy way for this time; when I have a convenient season, I will call for thee. He hoped also that money should have been given him of Paul, that he might loose him: wherefore he sent for him the oftener, and communed with him. But after two years Porcius Festus came into Felix' room: and Felix, willing to shew the Jews a pleasure, left Paul bound. Chap. 24

The arrival of Festus revives Paul's case.

Now when Festus was come into the province, after three days he ascended from Cæsarea to Jerusalem. Then the high priest and the chief of the Jews informed him against Paul, and besought him, and desired favour against him, that he would send for him to Jerusalem, laying wait in the way to kill him. But Festus answered, that Paul should be kept at Cæsarea, and that he himself would depart shortly *thither*. Let them therefore, said he, which among you are able, go down with *me*, and accuse this man, if there be any wickedness in him.

Paul appeals to Cæsar.

And when he had tarried among them more than ten days, he went down unto Cæsarea; and the next day sitting on the judgment seat commanded Paul to be brought. And when he was come, the Jews which came down from Jerusalem stood round about, and laid many and grievous complaints against Paul, which they could not prove. While he answered for himself, Neither against the law of the Jews, neither against the temple, nor yet against Cæsar, have I offended any thing at all. But Festus, willing to do the Jews a pleasure, answered Paul, and said, Wilt thou go up to Jerusalem, and there be judged of these things before

Chap. 25 me? Then said Paul, I stand at Cæsar's judgment 10
seat, where I ought to be judged: to the Jews
have I done no wrong, as thou very well knowest.
For if I be an offender, or have committed any 11
thing worthy of death, I refuse not to die: but if
there be none of these things whereof these accuse
me, no man may deliver me unto them. I appeal
unto Cæsar. Then Festus, when he had conferred 12
with the council, answered, Hast thou appealed
unto Cæsar? unto Cæsar shalt thou go.

Paul's case referred informally to the Jewish king, Agrippa II.

And after certain days king Agrippa and Bernice 13
came unto Cæsarea to salute Festus. And when 14
they had been there many days, Festus declared
Paul's cause unto the king, saying, There is a
certain man left in bonds by Felix: about whom, 15
when I was at Jerusalem, the chief priests and the
elders of the Jews informed *me*, desiring *to have*
judgment against him. To whom I answered, It 16
is not the manner of the Romans to deliver any man
to die, before that he which is accused have the
accusers face to face, and have licence to answer
for himself concerning the crime laid against him.
Therefore, when they were come hither, without
any delay on the morrow I sat on the judgment
seat, and commanded the man to be brought forth.
Against whom when the accusers stood up, they
brought none accusation of such things as I sup-
posed: but had certain questions against him of
their own superstition, and of one Jesus, which
was dead, whom Paul affirmed to be alive. And
because I doubted of such manner of questions,
I asked *him* whether he would go to Jerusalem,
and there be judged of these matters. But when

Paul had appealed to be reserved unto the hearing of Augustus, I commanded him to be kept till I might send him to Cæsar. Chap. 25

Then Agrippa said unto Festus, I would also hear the man myself. To morrow, said he, thou shalt hear him. And on the morrow, when Agrippa was come, and Bernice, with great pomp, and was entered into the place of hearing, with the chief captains, and principal men of the city, at Festus' commandment Paul was brought forth. And Festus said, King Agrippa, and all men which are here present with us, ye see this man, about whom all the multitude of the Jews have dealt with me, both at Jerusalem, and *also* here, crying that he ought not to live any longer. But when I found that he had committed nothing worthy of death, and that he himself hath appealed to Augustus, I have determined to send him. Of whom I have no certain thing to write unto my lord. Wherefore I have brought him forth before you, and specially before thee, O king Agrippa, that, after examination had, I might have somewhat to write. For it seemeth to me unreasonable to send a prisoner, and not withal to signify the crimes *laid* against him.

Paul's defence before Agrippa.

6 Then Agrippa said unto Paul, Thou art permitted to speak for thyself. Then Paul stretched
2 forth the hand, and answered for himself: I think myself happy, king Agrippa, because I shall answer for myself this day before thee touching all the
3 things whereof I am accused of the Jews: especially *because I know* thee to be expert in all customs and questions which are among the Jews: where-

Chap. 26 fore I beseech thee to hear me patiently. My 4
manner of life from my youth, which was at the
first among mine own nation at Jerusalem, know
all the Jews; which knew me from the beginning, 5
if they would testify, that after the most straitest
sect of our religion I lived a Pharisee. And now 6
I stand and am judged for the hope of the promise
made of God unto our fathers: unto which *promise* 7
our twelve tribes, instantly serving *God* day and
night, hope to come. For which hope's sake,
king Agrippa, I am accused of the Jews. Why 8
should it be thought a thing incredible with you,
that God should raise the dead? I verily thought 9
with myself, that I ought to do many things
contrary to the name of Jesus of Nazareth. Which 10
thing I also did in Jerusalem: and many of the
saints did I shut up in prison, having received au-
thority from the chief priests; and when they were
put to death, I gave my voice against *them*. And 11
I punished them oft in every synagogue, and
compelled *them* to blaspheme; and being exceed-
ingly mad against them, I persecuted *them* even
unto strange cities. Whereupon as I went to 12
Damascus with authority and commission from the
chief priests, at midday, O king, I saw in the way 13
a light from heaven, above the brightness of the
sun, shining round about me and them which
journeyed with me. And when we were all fallen 14
to the earth, I heard a voice speaking unto me,
and saying in the Hebrew tongue, Saul, Saul, why
persecutest thou me? *it is* hard for thee to kick
against the pricks. And I said, Who art thou, 15
Lord? And he said, I am Jesus whom thou perse-

cutest. But rise, and stand upon thy feet: for I have appeared unto thee for this purpose, to make thee a minister and a witness both of these things which thou hast seen, and of those things in the which I will appear unto thee; delivering thee from the people, and *from* the Gentiles, unto whom now I send thee, to open their eyes, *and* to turn *them* from darkness to light, and *from* the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them which are sanctified by faith that is in me. Whereupon, O king Agrippa, I was not disobedient unto the heavenly vision: but shewed first unto them of Damascus, and at Jerusalem, and throughout all the coasts of Judæa, and *then* to the Gentiles, that they should repent and turn to God, and do works meet for repentance. For these causes the Jews caught me in the temple, and went about to kill *me*. Having therefore obtained help of God, I continue unto this day, witnessing both to small and great, saying none other things than those which the prophets and Moses did say should come: that Christ should suffer, *and* that he should be the first that should rise from the dead, and should shew light unto the people, and to the Gentiles. Chap. 26

Effects upon Festus and Agrippa.

And as he thus spake for himself, Festus said with a loud voice, Paul, thou art beside thyself; much learning doth make thee mad. But he said, I am not mad, most noble Festus; but speak forth the words of truth and soberness. For the king knoweth of these things, before whom also I speak freely: for I am persuaded that none of these

Chap. 26

things are hidden from him; for this thing was not done in a corner. King Agrippa, believest thou the prophets? I know that thou believest. Then Agrippa said unto Paul, Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian. And Paul said, I would to God, that not only thou, but also all that hear me this day, were both almost, and altogether such as I am, except these bonds.

Opinion of the court on Paul's legal standing.

And when he had thus spoken, the king rose up, and the governor, and Bernice, and they that sat with them: and when they were gone aside, they talked between themselves, saying, This man doeth nothing worthy of death or of bonds. Then said Agrippa unto Festus, This man might have been set at liberty, if he had not appealed unto Cæsar.

Paul's voyage to Rome.

And when it was determined that we should sail into Italy, they delivered Paul and certain other prisoners unto *one* named Julius, a centurion of Augustus' band. And entering into a ship of Adramyttium, we launched, meaning to sail by the coasts of Asia; *one* Aristarchus, a Macedonian of Thessalonica, being with us. And the next *day* we touched at Sidon. And Julius courteously entreated Paul, and gave *him* liberty to go unto his friends to refresh himself. And when we had launched from thence, we sailed under Cyprus, because the winds were contrary. And when we had sailed over the sea of Cilicia and Pamphylia, we came to Myra, *a city* of Lycia.

And there the centurion found a ship of Alexandria sailing into Italy; and he put us therein. And when we had sailed slowly many days, and

scarce were come over against Cnidus, the wind not suffering us, we sailed under Crete, over against
8 Salmone; and, hardly passing it, came unto a place which is called The fair havens; nigh whereunto was the city *of* Lasea.

Disaster foreseen by Paul.

9 Now when much time was spent, and when sailing was now dangerous, because the fast was
10 now already past, Paul admonished *them*, and said unto them, Sirs, I perceive that this voyage will be with hurt and much damage, not only of the
11 lading and ship, but also of our lives. Nevertheless the centurion believed the master and the owner of the ship, more than those things which were
12 spoken by Paul. And because the haven was not commodious to winter in, the more part advised to depart thence also, if by any means they might attain to Phenice, *and there* to winter; *which is* an haven of Crete, and lieth toward the south
13 west and north west. And when the south wind blew softly, supposing that they had obtained *their* purpose, loosing *thence*, they sailed close by Crete.

Storm.

14 But not long after there arose against it a
15 tempestuous wind, called Euroclydon. And when the ship was caught, and could not bear up into
16 the wind, we let *her* drive. And running under a certain island which is called Clauda, we had
17 much work to come by the boat: which when they had taken up, they used helps, undergirding the ship; and, fearing lest they should fall into the
18 quicksands, strake sail, and so were driven. And we being exceedingly tossed with a tempest, the
19 next *day* they lightened the ship; and the third

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day we cast out with our own hands the tackling of the ship. And when neither sun nor stars in 20
many days appeared, and no small tempest lay on *us*, all hope that we should be saved was then taken away.

Paul's faith, based on a vision.

But after long abstinence Paul stood forth in 21
the midst of them, and said, Sirs, ye should have hearkened unto me, and not have loosed from Crete, and to have gained this harm and loss. And now I exhort you to be of good cheer: for 22
there shall be no loss of *any man's* life among you, but of the ship. For there stood by me this night 23
the angel of God, whose I am, and whom I serve, saying, Fear not, Paul; thou must be brought 24
before Cæsar: and, lo, God hath given thee all them that sail with thee. Wherefore, sirs, be of 25
good cheer: for I believe God, that it shall be even as it was told me. Howbeit we must be cast 26
upon a certain island.

On the brink of ship-wreck.

But when the fourteenth night was come, as we 27
were driven up and down in Adria, about midnight the shipmen deemed that they drew near to some
country; and sounded, and found *it* twenty fathoms: 28
and when they had gone a little further, they sounded again, and found *it* fifteen fathoms. Then 29
fearing lest we should have fallen upon rocks, they cast four anchors out of the stern, and wished for

Paul again to the fore.

the day. And as the shipmen were about to flee 30
out of the ship, when they had let down the boat into the sea, under colour as though they would have cast anchors out of the foreship, Paul said to 31
the centurion and to the soldiers, Except these abide in the ship, ye cannot be saved. Then the 32

soldiers cut off the ropes of the boat, and let her
33 fall off. And while the day was coming on, Paul besought *them* all to take meat, saying, This day is the fourteenth day that ye have tarried and con-
34 tinued fasting, having taken nothing. Wherefore I pray you to take *some* meat: for this is for your health: for there shall not an hair fall from the
35 head of any of you. And when he had thus spoken, he took bread, and gave thanks to God in presence of them all: and when he had broken *it*,
36 he began to eat. Then were they all of good cheer,
37 and they also took *some* meat. And we were in all in the ship two hundred threescore and sixteen souls.
38 And when they had eaten enough, they lightened the ship, and cast out the wheat into the sea.

They run the ship aground.

39 And when it was day, they knew not the land: but they discovered a certain creek with a shore, into the which they were minded, if it were possible,
40 to thrust in the ship. And when they had taken up the anchors, they committed *themselves* unto the sea, and loosed the rudder bands, and hoised up the mainsail to the wind, and made toward
41 shore. And falling into a place where two seas met, they ran the ship aground; and the fore-part stuck fast, and remained unmoveable, but the hinder part was broken with the violence of the
42 waves. And the soldiers' counsel was to kill the prisoners, lest any of them should swim out, and
43 escape. But the centurion, willing to save Paul, kept them from *their* purpose; and commanded that they which could swim should cast *themselves*
44 first *into the sea*, and get to land: and the rest, some on boards, and some on *broken pieces* of the

The Roman centurion saves Paul.

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ship. And so it came to pass, that they escaped all safe to land.

Incidents in Malta.

And when they were escaped, then they knew that **28**
the island was called Melita. And the barbarous 2
people shewed us no little kindness: for they
kindled a fire, and received us every one, because
of the present rain, and because of the cold. And 3
when Paul had gathered a bundle of sticks, and
laid *them* on the fire, there came a viper out of the
heat, and fastened on his hand. And when the 4
barbarians saw the *venomous* beast hang on his
hand, they said among themselves, No doubt this
man is a murderer, whom, though he hath escaped
the sea, yet vengeance suffereth not to live. And 5
he shook off the beast into the fire, and felt no
harm. Howbeit they looked when he should have 6
swollen, or fallen down dead suddenly: but after
they had looked a great while, and saw no harm
come to him, they changed their minds, and said
that he was a god.

In the same quarters were possessions of the 7
chief man of the island, whose name was Publius;
who received us, and lodged us three days cour-
teously. And it came to pass, that the father of 8
Publius lay sick of a fever and of a bloody flux: to
whom Paul entered in, and prayed, and laid his
hands on him, and healed him. So when this was 9
done, others also, which had diseases in the island,
came, and were healed: who also honoured us with 10
many honours; and when we departed, they laded
us with such things as were necessary.

From Malta to Rome.

And after three months we departed in a ship of 11
Alexandria, which had wintered in the isle, whose

12 sign was Castor and Pollux. And landing at Chap. 28
13 Syracuse, we tarried *there* three days. And from thence we fetched a compass, and came to Rhegium: and after one day the south wind blew, and we
14 came the next day to Puteoli: where we found brethren, and were desired to tarry with them seven
15 days: and so we went toward Rome. And from thence, when the brethren heard of us, they came to meet us as far as Appii forum, and The three taverns: whom when Paul saw, he thanked God,
16 and took courage. And when we came to Rome, Paul in Rome.
the centurion delivered the prisoners to the captain of the guard: but Paul was suffered to dwell by himself with a soldier that kept him.

17 And it came to pass, that after three days Paul He seeks to win the Jews:
called the chief of the Jews together: and when they were come together, he said unto them, Men *and* brethren, though I have committed nothing against the people, or customs of our fathers, yet was I delivered prisoner from Jerusalem into the
18 hands of the Romans. Who, when they had examined me, would have let *me* go, because there
19 was no cause of death in me. But when the Jews spake against *it*, I was constrained to appeal unto Cæsar; not that I had ought to accuse my nation
20 of. For this cause therefore have I called for you, to see *you*, and to speak with *you*: because that for the hope of Israel I am bound with this chain.
21 And they said unto him, We neither received letters out of Judæa concerning thee, neither any of the brethren that came shewed or spake any
22 harm of thee. But we desire to hear of thee what thou thinkest: for as concerning this sect, we

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know that every where it is spoken against. And 23
when they had appointed him a day, there came
many to him into *his* lodging; to whom he ex-
pounded and testified the kingdom of God, per-
suading them concerning Jesus, both out of the law
of Moses, and *out of* the prophets, from morning
till evening. And some believed the things which 24
but fails. were spoken, and some believed not. And when 25
they agreed not among themselves, they departed,
Final warning to the Jews. after that Paul had spoken one word, Well spake
the Holy Ghost by Esaias the prophet unto our
fathers, saying, Go unto this people, and say, 26
Hearing ye shall hear, and shall not understand;
and seeing ye shall see, and not perceive: for the 27
heart of this people is waxed gross, and their ears
are dull of hearing, and their eyes have they closed;
lest they should see with *their* eyes, and hear with
their ears, and understand with *their* heart, and
should be converted, and I should heal them.
Be it known therefore unto you, that the salvation 28
of God is sent unto the Gentiles, and *that* they
will hear it. And when he had said these words, 29
the Jews departed, and had great reasoning among
themselves.

Paul's long spell of unhindered preaching in Rome. And Paul dwelt two whole years in his own 30
hired house, and received all that came in unto
him, preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching 31
those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ,
with all confidence, no man forbidding him.

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

REVISED VERSION WITH ANNOTATIONS

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

THE former treatise I made, O Theophilus, concerning 1

The Title: **The Acts of the Apostles.** The oldest MSS. have simply 'Acts of Apostles' (*Cod. Sin.* 'Acts' only), which better describes the book. Originally it would have no formal title, but was, perhaps, known as 'The Second Book to Theophilus.'

Introductory.

Luke opens his second work for cultured Gentiles with a paragraph meant to indicate its relation to its predecessor, his Gospel. This he describes as a complete account of what Jesus did and taught, up to the very end of his own ministry on earth. The form of the sentence shews that he has it in mind to exhibit the ministry of the apostles in the light of a genuine continuation of that of their Master But in his eagerness to shew the secret of such virtual identity between the two stages of the Kingdom, the ordered growth of which he is recording, Luke first inserts a reference to the Holy Spirit as the living link between the Messiah and his followers, and then hastens to amplify the reference just made to the intercourse between him and them under the new conditions of his resurrection life. In so doing he forgets to make the parallel in his own mind grammatically clear (see below, verse 1), or to mark distinctly the point at which the new narrative properly begins (see verses 3, 6). And so he runs on without a real break, until he has told afresh the story of the final Commission and the Ascension, previously related in another context and perspective (see below on verse 12). But the main motives of his work can already be felt by the attentive reader, particularly his sense of the Holy Spirit as the secret of the success of Christ's witnesses (cf. Luke iv. 1, 18, 21, for the Spirit in relation to Jesus himself)—a success, the extent of which is foreshadowed in verse 8.

i. 1, 2. *Preface: linking the work to its predecessor.*

1. The former treatise: *lit.* 'the first treatise, indeed.'

2 all that Jesus began both to do and to teach, until the day in which he was received up, after that he had given commandment through the Holy Ghost unto the apostles

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But our translators have given the right sense, that of simple contrast to the same author's Gospel, without any hint of yet another work to follow, as some suppose. The particle 'indeed' suggests that something is coming to balance the statement in its own clause: and such a thought is really present in the reference to the apostles and their mission which follows.

O Theophilus. The epithet 'most excellent,' prefixed to this name in the Preface of Luke's Gospel, probably means 'your excellency,' and implies that the person addressed was a man of high, if not official, rank (cf. its use in xxiii. 26, xxiv. 3, xxvi. 25). But 'Theophilus,' 'Lover of God,' can hardly have been the name by which this individual was known in general society, since its appearance in a Christian writing would have exposed its bearer to danger. It can at most have been the title he bore among Christians; and may even be used merely to describe him in a typical way. The above epithet suggests at least that a real person is meant (cf. Luke i. 4).

began both to do and to teach. The common pleonastic use of 'began' in the N. T. forbids our taking these words to mean essentially more than 'both did and taught.' Yet the context, 'until the day,' &c. (cf. i. 22, Luke xxiii. 5), warrants the rendering 'began and continued . . . until' or 'both did and taught from first to last, until.' There is, moreover, in the words which follow, 'after that . . . chosen,' a hint of a virtual continuation of Jesus' ministry in that of his 'apostles.'

2. until the day in which he was received up. This is the first explicit mention of 'ascension' as the mode of Jesus' final withdrawal from his disciples. In the true text of Luke xxiv. 51, it is simply said that 'he parted from them.' But by the time Luke came to write his second work, he must have received further information touching the time between the first Christian sabbath, the day of the Resurrection—which he formerly considered also the day of final separation (Luke xxiv. 13, 33, 36, 44-50 f.; cf. *Ep. of Barnabas*, xv. 9, though its sense is doubtful)—and the first Christian Pentecost. See below on 'the space of forty days'; and compare the different, yet fuller and earlier, account of the period during which the risen Christ appeared to his friends, in 1 Cor. xv. 4-7.

after that he had given commandment through the Holy Ghost unto the apostles whom he had chosen. This clause (made awkward in the Greek by the amount of matter packed into it) virtually balances the reference to Jesus' own persona

hom he had chosen: to whom he also shewed himself 3
ive after his passion by many proofs, appearing unto
em by the space of forty days, and speaking the things

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nistry contained in all that precedes. It yields the idea of direct continuation in a derivative ministry, by exhibiting the arantees of spiritual continuity (cf. Luke xxiv. 45-49, and John . 22, *lit.* 'take Holy Spirit.') In order to enhance the reader's nse of this vital conception, Luke proceeds to add fresh details—tails necessary to the prologue of a work setting forth their tual issues, rather than to the epilogue of the story of Jesus' vn earthly ministry.

the apostles whom he had chosen. Here the central man figures of the book are introduced, in marked subordination the Divine Agent to whose working it is Luke's aim to direct tention, as to the source of the power and wisdom wherein he ould have all discern the marks of God's providential dealings ith the Christians. The expression 'the apostles (*lit.* 'envoys') hom he had chosen' is significant: for the latter part of it is in e Greek added after 'through the Holy Spirit'—an awkward-ss which a writer like Luke would tolerate only of set purpose. is comes out more clearly when we observe his similar language the call of the Twelve (Luke vi. 13): 'And he *chose* from them elve, whom also he named *apostles*' (*lit.* 'men sent forth'); o ix. 2, 'and sent them forth to preach the kingdom of God d to heal.' Thus 'the apostles' is here used, not in a full chnical sense, but with some allusion to Messiah's original oice of 'the envoys, men whom he had chosen.' So read, it lps to heighten the sense of continuity in the Kingdom, as spread word and deed, first by the Master and then by his followers. rther, 'the new stage of apostleship was inaugurated by no w act of appointment analogous to the original designation of e Twelve on the mountain' (Hort), alluded to in the words vhom he had chosen.'

The Kingdom foreshadowed. i. 3-11.

i. 3-8. *The great Commission*, grounded in the Holy Spirit's ower, the distinctive mark of the Kingdom: its large scope.

3. to whom. Here Luke passes insensibly from his prefatory atements, to introduce his new narrative.

by many proofs: *cogent proofs*, such as that described in ke xxiv. 39-43, but probably including others that had since ached our author: see the next clause.

by the space of forty days: i. e. at intervals during this riod. Knowledge of such a season probably came to Luke ter the completion of his Gospel, in a tradition which described

4 concerning the kingdom of God: and, being assembled
together with them, he charged them not to depart from
Jerusalem, but to wait for the promise of the Father,
5 which, *said he*, ye heard from me: for John indeed bap-
tized with water; but ye shall be baptized with the Holy
Ghost not many days hence.
6 They therefore, when they were come together, asked

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it in round numbers, 'forty days' being a period for which there were suggestive precedents in the histories of Moses and Elijah, and even in the Gospel story of the Temptation. Cf. xiii. 31, 'and he was seen for many days of them that came up with him from Galilee to Jerusalem.'

the things concerning the kingdom of God. 'The kingdom of God' is a favourite phrase with our author, who uses it thirty-three times in his Gospel. It signifies the reign of the gracious will of God inaugurated by His Messiah. We see below in verse 6, in how traditional and national a sense the apostles still understood it (cf. Matt. xx. 21). As to the aspects of this Kingdom referred to in this verse, it is safest to be guided by the analogy of Luke xxiv. 25–27, 44–47.

4. being assembled together with them. The main moral of the teaching referred to was the charge to wait in Jerusalem for the Messianic Baptism, here defined by contrast to John's, but in verse 8 set forth as the condition of spiritual power in those who were to be witnesses.

the promise of the Father, which, said he, **ye heard from me.** This virtually reproduces Luke xxiv. 49, 'And behold, I send forth the promise of my Father upon you: but tarry ye in the city, until ye be clothed with power from on high': cf. ii. 33.

5. for John indeed baptized with water, &c. The superiority of Christian Baptism, as with Holy Spirit or inspiration (see note on ii. 4), to John's water Baptism of repentance and expectation is a thought which recurs more than once in Acts (xi. 16, xix. 2–4). It perhaps implies the existence of a tendency in certain quarters to put the Baptist and his ministry much on a level with Christ: see John i. 7 f., 15, 20–27, iii. 25–30, x. 41.

6. They therefore, when they were come together. Rather 'they, then, that were assembled' (a rendering parallel to the similar clause in ii. 41)—the correlative of 'being assembled together with them' (verse 4). In any case it is Christ's final interview with his disciples that is contemplated. Those meant are the inner circle of followers, who gathered afresh at Jerusalem on news of his repeated appearances. This company would

him, saying, Lord, dost thou at this time restore the king-

include others besides the eleven apostles; not only those alluded to in verse 13—certain women already named in the Gospel (viii. 2, 3, xxiii. 55, xxiv. 1, 10), and Mary the mother of Jesus, and his brothers—but also members of the larger disciple-circle implied in Luke xxiv. There we read of 'two *from among them*' (xxiv. 13), Cleopas and another, who are thus mentioned in a verse following a reference to the apostles. Again we hear of 'the Eleven and them that were with them' as 'gathered together' (xxiv. 33) on the evening of the Resurrection-day. These too are present at the interview with the risen One, the Commission (parallel to that here in question), and the final parting on the road leading to Bethany—all following without a break in the narrative (36–53). Similarly Peter, in his address to the brethren soon after the Ascension, refers to the men who had 'companied' with him and his fellow apostles during Christ's ministry, right 'up to the day that he was received up from us' (i. 21 f.), as forming the inner circle from which a new apostle should be chosen. This fact, namely, that those commissioned as Christ's first 'witnesses' were more than the Eleven, is further borne out by 1 Cor. xv. 5, 7. There the last appearance named prior to that which made Saul an apostle, is one to 'the apostles one and all,' as distinct from an earlier one to 'the Twelve.' No doubt the apostles, in the sense in which he generally uses the term (i. e. 'the Twelve'), are here primarily in Luke's mind, as the witnesses *par excellence*; but he has no thought of excluding others, some of whom at least shared the title 'apostles' in the early nomenclature which leaves its trace not only in Paul (see further 1 Cor. xii. 28; Eph. iv. 11; Rom. xvi. 7), but also in Acts xiv. 4, 14, and in the 'apostles, prophets, teachers' of the *Didaché*, or so-called *Teaching of the Apostles*. Among the company here 'assembled' we may fairly reckon Barnabas and Cleopas (Luke xxiv. 18), as well as Junias and Andronicus, whom Paul salutes (Rom. xvi. 7) as 'of note among the apostles,' and as earlier 'in Christ' than himself. When this is borne in mind—so that Luke thinks of an apostolic type of witnesses, and not of a restricted number of persons, when he speaks of 'the apostles' even in contexts where the Twelve only are in question—we shall cease to wonder how Paul is related to the programme of verse 8.

dost thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel? This question is suggested to their minds by the Baptism of the Spirit, which was a recognized feature of the Messianic Age (Joel ii. 28 ff., cited by Peter in ii. 17 ff.). The form of the question itself reflects the common Jewish idea of Messiah's kingdom, and shews how far the apostles still were from real insight into the nature of their Master's mission. How incredible it is that these

7 dom to Israel? And he said unto them, It is not for
you to know times or seasons, which the Father hath set
8 within his own authority. But ye shall receive power,
when the Holy Ghost is come upon you: and ye shall
be my witnesses both in Jerusalem, and in all Judæa and

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men should, as is sometimes suggested, have been instructed during the forty days in ecclesiastical principles to guide their future conduct. For here we see that they had not even ceased to expect that Jesus was himself just about openly to assume Messianic sway in a renovated Israel (cf. Luke xix. 11). The idea in their minds was such as might be suggested by Mic. iv. 8, 'And thou, O tower of the flock, the hill of the daughter of Zion, unto thee shall it come; yea, the former dominion shall come, the kingdom of the daughter of Jerusalem.' It was, perhaps, the belief that the kingdom should be manifested in Jerusalem, that had caused them to gather thither, after a return to their homes in Galilee, which we know from the other Gospels (not from Luke's) to have taken place (e. g. Mark xvi. 7; John xxi). Their old hopes of an earthly Jewish empire, in which they themselves should hold high place about the Messiah's person (Mark x. 35-41), had simply revived with their belief that the Passion had been an episode, a stage —mysterious indeed, but contemplated in prophecy—through which Messiah was to enter upon his 'glory.' It is a mark of our author's candour that he records such a mistaken idea of the apostles in their earlier days. For the changed or modified form in which they continued to hold the hope, see iii. 21.

7. It is not for you to know times or seasons, &c. The force of this assertion that questions of time in relation to the Divine counsels do not fall properly within man's province at all is enhanced by Christ's words in Mark xiii. 32, 'But of that day or that hour knoweth no one, not even the angels in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father.'

8. But ye shall receive power, &c. Here we get not only the answer which defines the disciple's part, viz. service in reliance on God for requisite power, but also an index of what our author felt to be the essence of the story he has to tell. To him it means the hand of God manifest in human affairs, the secret of the strange fact that the witness of a few obscure men had won its way from a provincial city throughout the empire, to its very centre in Rome.

ye shall be my witnesses: the primary function of the apostles as set forth in Acts, the more special theme of their witness being Christ's resurrection: see i. 22, ii. 32, iii. 15, iv. 33, v. 32 x. 39-43, xiii. 31, xxii. 15, xxvi. 16 (the last two referring to Paul).

both in Jerusalem, and in all Judæa and Samaria, and

Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth. And 9
when he had said these things, as they were looking, he
was taken up; and a cloud received him out of their
sight. And while they were looking stedfastly into 10
heaven as he went, behold, two men stood by them in
white apparel; which also said, Ye men of Galilee, why 11
stand ye looking into heaven? this Jesus, which was
received up from you into heaven, shall so come in like
manner as ye beheld him going into heaven.

Then returned they unto Jerusalem from the mount 12
called Olivet, which is nigh unto Jerusalem, a sabbath

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unto the uttermost part of the earth: the scope and ground-plan of our book. It is to trace, as a work of Divine power seen in chosen witnesses, the extension of Messiah's salvation through ever-extending circles of mankind. 'Jerusalem' is represented by chaps. i—vi. 7 (vi. 8—vii. 60 being transitional); 'Judæa and Samaria' occupy chaps. viii—ix. 31 (ix. 32—xi. 18 being prophetic of yet wider growth); 'and unto the uttermost part of the earth' is fulfilled in principle by chaps. xi. 19 to the end. As to the term 'Judæa' in this passage, it means all Palestine (cf. Luke i. 5, iv. 44 marg.) save the semi-alien Samaria, a usage which meets us again in x. 37 (cf. Luke xxiii. 5), where Galilee is included in it (not so in ix. 31). The phrase 'unto the uttermost part of the earth' occurs also at xiii. 47, in a quotation from Isa. xlix. 6; and in a Jewish writing of the century before Christ—the so-called *Psalms of Solomon*—the invader (Pompey) comes from Rome as 'from the end of the earth' (viii. 16).

i. 9–11. *The Ascension.*

10. looking stedfastly. The word here used denotes a fixed or earnest gaze, and is a favourite one with our author, occurring in Luke iv. 10, xxii. 56, and ten times in Acts (iii. 4, 12, vi. 15, vii. 55, x. 4, xi. 6, xiii. 9, xiv. 9, xxiii. 1); elsewhere only in 2 Cor. iii. 7, 13.

11. Ye men of Galilee: a vivid and true touch, reflecting the fact that Christ's earlier followers, though here assembled in Jerusalem, were Galilæans in origin and training.

The week of waiting. i. 12–26.

i. 12–14. *The Disciple-circle.*

12. Olivet. This represents the rendering of the Latin Vulgate *Olivetum*, and means 'the olive-garden.' The more usual title

13 day's journey off. And when they were come in, they went up into the upper chamber, where they were abiding; both Peter and John and James and Andrew, Philip and Thomas, Bartholomew and Matthew, James *the son* of Alphæus, and Simon the Zealot, and Judas *the*

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was the Mount of Olives. The ridge in question lies on the east of Jerusalem, separated therefrom by the ravine of the Kidron. On its further or eastern slope lay Bethany, some fifteen furlongs from Jerusalem, John xi. 18. This fact serves to explain the description of the place of ascension as given in Luke xxiv. 50, viz. 'over against' or looking towards Bethany. But the perspective of the two accounts is different. In the Gospel the words of commission seem spoken in Jerusalem, prior to going forth to Bethany: in Acts they form the Saviour's last address, immediately prior (i. 9[a]) to the Ascension from Olivet. The discrepancy need be no more than on the surface, if we recognize that the interest or emphasis differs in the two cases.

a sabbath day's journey off: i. e. about six furlongs or 2,000 cubits, the distance fixed by the rabbis (perhaps on the analogy of Num. xxx. 5) as the maximum of locomotion allowable on the sabbath. For this they absurdly invoked Exod. xvi. 29.

13. And when they were come in: i. e. had entered the city again. Who are meant? The apostles only, or the larger body of disciples described in the note to verse 6, 'the brethren' of verse 15? Surely the latter (cf. 'the women,' verse 14); and we should prefer the A.V., 'where abode both Peter,' &c., to the R.V. here.

into the upper chamber. This place (*hyperōon*, cf. ix. 37, 39, xx. 8) was a large guest-chamber, like that wherein the Last Supper was eaten (called, however, a *catalūma*, and 'a large upper room,' *anagaion*, in Luke xxii. 11 f.), which the apostles were using as a common living room.

both Peter and John and James and Andrew. This list, which (different as it is in some respects from those in Matt. x. 2 Mark iii. 16) Luke repeats from his Gospel, differs even from the latter's order as to the first few names. Peter indeed, as most prominent in both narratives, still comes first: but the other members of the first of the three groups, into which the apostles fall in all three Gospels alike, have changed places. Andrew had before been second: he now comes fourth: while James, who had stood third, now appears after his younger brother, John. The reason is probably the same in both cases, namely, that their relative prominence changes in the two books. We may perhaps infer that Thomas had risen correspondingly in his own group during the Apostolic Age (cf. the prominence of his name in John'

son of James. These all with one accord continued 14
stedfastly in prayer, with the women, and Mary the
mother of Jesus, and with his brethren.

Gospel); but of this we have no sufficient evidence. As regards 'Simon the Zealot,' the epithet is the Greek synonym of the Aramaic word Græcized as 'Cananæan' (Mark iii. 18, Matt. x. 4), and indicates the fact that this Simon had been a member of the fiercely patriotic and anti-foreign party: while Judas must be taken to be son of James (not his brother, as in the A.V., which seems wrongly to identify him with the person named in Jude 1). In John xiv. 22 he is described as 'Judas, not Iscariot.'

14. with one accord: rather, 'with one soul,' a phrase used in Acts to describe the unity of the early Christians. The special term in question occurs ten times in Acts; elsewhere only in Rom. xv. 6.

continued stedfastly: another favourite expression (a single verb), found also in Paul, especially in connexion with prayer (Rom. xii. 2; Col. iv. 2: also Rom. xiii. 6), and once in Mark, iii. 9.

with the women: marg. 'with certain women' is better, there being no article in the original. Here again we see that care in recording the attachment of women to Christ and his cause which marks Luke among the evangelists (cf. Luke viii. 2 f., xxiii. 27, 55, xxiv. 22, 'certain women of our company'). So again and again in Acts (e. g. v. 14, viii. 12, ix. 2, xiii. 50, xvi. 13, xviii. 2). It is a token of first-hand testimony, such facts being liable to drop out of memory in tradition. The women in question would naturally include those named in Mark xv. 40; Luke xxiv. 10: cf. viii. 2 f.

his brethren: the first hint that Jesus' brothers (invariably so styled, and so probably sons of Mary) had now been convinced (by the Resurrection) of his Messiahship. Paul refers to a special appearance to James (1 Cor. xv. 7); and we have an echo of the same event in the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, one of the earliest of apocryphal writings. There, however, imagination has already been at work; for it is assumed that James had been present at the Last Supper. 'The Lord after his resurrection appeared to James, who had sworn that he would not eat bread from the hour in which he had drunk the cup of the Lord till he saw him risen from the dead. Jesus, therefore, took bread and blessed and brake it, and gave it to James the Just, and said to him, My brother, eat thy bread, for the Son of Man has risen from the dead.'

We have indeed no positive proof that none of the four brothers of Jesus (James, Joses, Judas, Simon—Mark vi. 3) came to believe

15 And in these days Peter stood up in the midst of the
brethren, and said (and there was a multitude of persons
16 *gathered* together, about a hundred and twenty), Brethren,

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on him as Messiah between the time when we read, 'even his brethren did not believe on him' (John vii. 5; Mark vi. 4), and the Resurrection. But the silence, up to this point, in Luke's continuous narrative rather points that way. And silence is here the more suggestive that in the Apostolic Age they came, at any rate in Judæo-Christian circles, to stand alongside the apostles in general esteem (1 Cor. ix. 5; Gal. i. 19); the position of James, as head of the Jerusalem Church (at least after the death of James the Apostle), being particularly prominent. Yet we find in the N. T. no clear trace of that feeling towards them, as towards members of a sacred dynasty, which seems to emerge in the second and third generations. Thus after the grandsons of Jude, the Saviour's brother, had been brought before the Emperor Domitian (81–96 A.D.), who was suspicious of them as scions of the Davidic stock, they on their return home enjoyed leadership in the Palestinian churches, not only as faithful 'witnesses' but also as belonging to the Lord's family, being styled 'kinsmen of the Lord' (*Desposyni*; Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, iii. 20; cf. i. 7).

i. 15–26. *The Apostolate restored to Twelve.*

15. Peter. There is striking consistency between the Peter of the Gospels and the Peter of Acts. The old promptitude and energetic decision, in word and deed, reappears; but now it is disciplined by bitter experience and self-knowledge into a calm reliance on a power not of himself, which fits him to strengthen and lead his fellows (Luke xxii. 32; John xxi. 15 ff.).

the brethren. The first use of this term for Christians in Acts (and in the historical books of the N. T., John xxi. 23 being later). It is adopted from Jewish usage, each Jew being 'brother' to his fellow (Matt. v. 22–24, 47, xviii. 21; so in public address, 'Men (and) brethren,' Acts i. 16, and often). Christ had already given it a special reference to his disciples (Matt. xxiii. 3; Luke xxii. 32), especially in calling them his own brethren (Matt. xxv. 40, xxviii. 10; John xx. 17). Thus it was no doubt used from the first among Christians, and with the deeper meaning derived from their Master's teaching. Of course 'the brethren' is not used here in the sense of verse 14. Desire to make this clear led some MSS. to substitute 'the disciples' in this verse: so the A.V.

persons: *lit.* 'names'; not, as often thought, a pure Hebraism (cf. Num. i. 2, 18; Rev. iii. 4), since it occurs on Greek papyri in this sense (Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, 196 f.).

gathered **together:** *lit.* 'to the same point'; and so in the

it was needful that the scripture should be fulfilled, which the Holy Ghost spake before by the mouth of David concerning Judas, who was guide to them that took Jesus. For he was numbered among us, and re- 17
ceived his portion in this ministry. (Now this man 18
obtained a field with the reward of his iniquity; and

present context (also in ii. 1, 44, 47) we may render 'were in fellowship.' Thus in Ps. ii. 2, cited in Acts iv. 26, it represents Hebrew which denotes coming together 'unto counsel': so in Matt. xxii. 34, where the same words occur (cf. Luke xvii. 35). The idea, then, is not merely proximity, but rather unity of purpose and aim.

about a hundred and twenty. The number is given as approximate. But when we remember that Paul mentions an appearance to 500 brethren, seemingly in Galilee, and prior to this date (1 Cor. xv. 6), we need not be surprised that so many devoted adherents were now gathered at Jerusalem awaiting 'the promise of the Father.'

16. concerning Judas. Here the original intention of the words, what they meant to the man who uttered them, is ignored according to the current practice of the time and place, which fixed on the type of experience involved, and transferred it to the history of Messiah—the culmination to which all prophetic utterances pointed ultimately. It was just this accord between the 'witnesses' and their countrymen (and the age in general) as to *methods* of scriptural proof that gave their reasoning cogency. Literary habits are a matter of general culture, not of religion proper and so of inspiration, and vary from age to age. They are part of the 'earthen vessels' through which the treasure reaches men.

17. For: rather, 'in that.' The object of this verse is to prove that Judas was the person intended by the Psalm yet to be quoted, seeing that to him had been allotted an 'office,' the 'ministry' of apostleship.

18 f. Now this man, &c. It has been much debated whether this parenthetic account of Judas' tragic end is part of Peter's address or is only an explanatory note inserted by Luke. The latter view is preferable to the former (cf. '*their* language'). It certainly presupposes that Judas came to an evil end. But the exact historical value of the reference (as it cannot be taken as a contemporary report of what was said on the occasion) it is impossible to appraise, especially as the problem is complicated by the different account in Matt. xxvii. 3–8 (see further Appended Note A).

falling headlong, he burst asunder in the midst, and all
19 his bowels gushed out. And it became known to all the
dwellers at Jerusalem; insomuch that in their language
that field was called Akeldama, that is, The field of
20 blood.) For it is written in the book of Psalms,

Let his habitation be made desolate,
And let no man dwell therein:

and,

His office let another take.

21 Of the men therefore which have companied with us all
the time that the Lord Jesus went in and went out
22 among us, beginning from the baptism of John, unto the

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falling headlong: rather, 'face downwards,' without any suggestion of fall from a height.

19. Akeldama. For another explanation of this name, which somehow attached to a piece of land connected with Judas, see Matt. xxvii. 5-8.

20. in the book of Psalms: i. e. lxix. 25 and cix. 8, the words of the former being slightly adapted, in citation from memory, to suit its present use. Both are cited from the Greek version (the Septuagint, or LXX) in current use, as is usual in N. T. quotations.

21. This verse begins in the original with 'it is needful,' answering to 'it was needful' in verse 16, and taking up the latter of the two quotations as yet awaiting fulfilment.

have companied with us all the time, &c.: explicit evidence of what is hinted in Luke's Gospel, e. g. in speaking of the Seventy (x. 1), and in phrases like 'the eleven and all the rest' (xxiv. 9, cf. 13, 33), namely, that the circle of those who accompanied Jesus more or less regularly as disciples, was larger than we are apt to imagine: see the note on verse 6.

the Lord Jesus: a name for the Saviour found often in Acts, but rare elsewhere, save in Paul's letters, especially the earlier ones (see Appended Note B).

22. beginning from the baptism of John. See Luke iii. 23, 'And Jesus himself, when he began (his ministry), was about thirty years of age'; Acts x. 37, 'beginning from Galilee, after the baptism which John preached'; also xiii. 24. This marked the earlier limit of Christ's public life of ministry, with which the witness of apostles and others had properly to deal; and so the

day that he was received up from us, of these must one become a witness with us of his resurrection. And they 23 put forward two, Joseph called Barsabbas, who was surnamed Justus, and Matthias. And they prayed, and 24 said, Thou, Lord, which knowest the hearts of all men, shew of these two the one whom thou hast chosen, to 25

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earliest Gospel, Mark (itself so closely connected with Peter's preaching), starts at this point, and ends with the Resurrection which completed and sealed that ministry with the Divine approval (cf. Acts x. 39–42, xvii. 31; Rom. i. 4; 1 Pet. i. 3).

a witness with us of his resurrection: the primary function of an apostle, according to Paul's words in 1 Cor. ix. 1, 'Am I not an apostle? have I not seen Jesus our Lord?' See i. 8, ii. 33, iii. 15, v. 32, x. 40 f., xiii. 30 f., xxii. 14 f., xxvi. 16 (the last two, of Paul), also 1 Cor. xv. 4–11, and verse 15, 'Yea, and we are found false witnesses of God; because we witnessed of God that he raised up the Christ.'

23. Joseph called Barsabbas, &c. 'Barsabbas' (cf. Judas Barsabbas, xv. 22) may represent 'Son of Sabba' (cf. Jos. *Ant.* xv. 7, 10, and inscriptions), or 'Son of the Sabbath,' in allusion to day of birth or to piety (cf. his surname Justus, and Joseph Barnabas, iv. 36). This man, as well as Matthias, belonged to the larger disciple-circle to which reference has been made, and quite possibly to the Seventy of Luke x. 1. The Roman surname Justus, added for use among Gentiles (cf. 'Saul, who is also Paulus,' and 'John, whose surname was Marcus,' xiii. 8, xii. 12), seems to denote his piety; so in the case of a certain Jesus Justus (Col. iv. 11) and the proselyte Titius Justus (Acts xviii. 7). The Christian writer Papias, early in the second century, states on the authority of the daughters of 'Philip the Apostle' that this Justus 'drank a deadly poison, and yet by the grace of the Lord suffered no inconvenience' (an incident alluded to, as it seems, in the present ending of Mark's Gospel, xvi. 18). Of Matthias nothing trustworthy is known from other sources.

24. Thou, Lord, which knowest the hearts of all men. God 'the heart-searcher' is spoken of in xv. 7 f. also, as making choice of a man to do a certain work. And the universal reference of the epithet, 'heart-searcher of *all* men' (and not only of Christians), makes a similar meaning probable in the present context, as in the clear case in iv. 29—and that though cases of direct appeal in prayer to Jesus, as the Christian's Lord, occur elsewhere (e.g. Stephen's dying exclamation, vii. 59; cf. John xiv. 14, and perhaps 2 Cor. xii. 8 f.).

take the place in this ministry and apostleship, from which Judas fell away, that he might go to his own place.
26 And they gave lots for them; and the lot fell upon Matthias; and he was numbered with the eleven apostles.

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25. this ministry and apostleship. The apostleship (*lit.* 'sending forth,' cf. Mark iii. 14) of the 'witnesses' was but the highest form of 'ministry' (*diakonia*). The humble associations of this Greek word, in all its forms, are preserved in Christ's use of it in Mark x. 43, the great passage defining the distinctive type of evangelic leadership. There 'minister' is synonymous with 'bondservant'; and the lowliness of the service thought of is suggested by the contrast, 'not to be ministered to, but to minister' (cf. Hort, *Christian Ecclesia*, 202 ff.).

to his own place. The emphatic Greek may be rendered, 'the place that is indeed his own.' Judas went to the place (i. e. Gehenna, as in Midrash on Num. xxiv. 25) he had made his own by evil choice, by turning his back on the place divinely assigned him.

26. they gave lots for them. How the appeal to the Divine decision through lots was conducted, we cannot say. But it is startling to find the late companions of Jesus resorting to such an old-world method of ascertaining the Divine will. Perhaps they had in mind the assigning of the inheritance to the twelve tribes (Num. xxxiv. 13, Josh. xiv. 2, xviii. 6). Possibly the idea of filling Judas' place was suggested by a national conception of the Messianic Kingdom and their relation thereto, on the lines of twelve 'thrones' of office in the renewed 'twelve tribes of Israel,' taken literally (see Luke xxii. 30 and Acts i. 6). But in any case, we are reminded that we are reading of a transition period, when the incongruity of the old 'wine-skins' and the 'new wine' had but partially been realized. Note too that the disciples, before resorting to the lot, first restrict the Divine choice to two candidates chosen by the method of religious insight—the method through which, after fuller experience of the Holy Spirit's illumination, they and the Christians in general were content to believe themselves guided by God in selecting men for His service. Nor do we again hear of Matthias, a fact which gives food for thought. Shall we say that God had His own way—a way, as of old, not as men's—of filling the gap in the apostolic circle (if indeed it be not a too human notion altogether, to regard God as caring at all for 'symbolic numbers' in his servants), by 'revealing His Son' in Saul, and so calling him to apostleship in very truth?

And when the day of Pentecost was now come, they 2
were all together in one place. And suddenly there 2
came from heaven a sound as of the rushing of a mighty

The Birthday of the Church. ii.

ii. 1–13. *The coming of the Spirit*: the Divine inauguration of the Messianic community (or church) at Pentecost.

1. the day of Pentecost: the feast of the 'Fiftieth (Day),' i. e. as reckoned from the second day of the Passover season, 'the morrow after the Sabbath,' when the priest 'waved' before the Lord the 'first-fruits' sheaf of the coming harvest, so predestining the whole to God. Thus Pentecost, coming at the completion of seven Sabbaths from that date, meant the consecration of the actual harvest in sample, i. e. by the offering of its first-fruits in the form of 'two wave loaves' of the new flour (Lev. xxiii. 11, 15–17). The early Christians were quick to apply this suggestive symbolism to the Messiah and his people (cf. 'our Passover also hath been sacrificed, even Christ,' 1 Cor. v. 7). Certainly the metaphor of 'first-fruits' in general was seized upon, as in Rom. xi. 16, 'if the first-fruit is holy, so is the lump,' and James i. 18, 'that we (God's true people) should be a kind of first-fruits of his creatures.' Accordingly Luke saw in the manifest possession of the disciples by the Holy Spirit the Divine acceptance and consecration of the first-fruits of the Messianic people, the earnest of that larger harvest, the ingathering and offering of which it is his business to relate: cf. Rom. xv. 16, 'that the offering up of the Gentiles might be made acceptable, being sanctified by the Holy Ghost.'

all: i.e. the one hundred and twenty already referred to in i. 15.

together in one place: rather, 'together in company' or 'in fellowship'; see i. 15, ii. 44, 47. Emphasis on mere unity of place, as on the former rendering, seems superfluous. The hour of their gathering was early morning; so we infer from verse 15.

2. as of . . . wind. Observe that here, as in the words 'as of fire,' just below, the narrative refrains from making the manifestation a physical phenomenon. What was present to the consciousness of t[illegible] disciples was something of a higher order. It was no wind [illegible]own to nature: but so it appeared to them, as if thes[illegible] had been present to the senses. On the other hand[illegible]ppeared,' in verse 3, is not used in the sense of app[illegible]out corresponding reality (see verse 6, for the sound a[illegible] to others outside), only the reality meant is of an exce[illegible]nal order, more immediately related to the Holy Spirit than what men call the physical. No doubt

wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting.
3 And there appeared unto them tongues parting asunder,
4 like as of fire; and it sat upon each one of them. And
they were all filled with the Holy Spirit, and began to

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the potent but invisible wind seemed then, as in earlier times, the fittest symbol of the mysterious energy of the Divine Spirit (John iii. 7 f.: cf. 1 Kings xix. 11 f., where wind, earthquake, and fire are named as usual concomitants of the Lord's presence; also Job xxxviii. 1; Ps. civ. 3; Ezek. i. 4); and indeed the name for the Divine in action, in Hebrew (*ruach*), as subsequently in the Greek (*pneuma*), was simply the word for 'wind' taken in a special sense. Further, we are not entitled to suppose that even at this time there existed, either in Jewish or Gentile thought, the same sharp distinction between the ideas of the 'physical' and 'spiritual' as seems natural to us. In this connexion the expression 'a spiritual body' (1 Cor. xv. 44) may be cited, as boldly putting together what later metaphysics have tended to keep distinct. Yet, when all has been said, it remains true that the reality behind the phenomena here described is conceived as supernatural or heavenly in nature (cf. 1 Cor. xv. 40, and the analogy from Philo given in Appended Note C). To us the Divine nature of the energy manifest at Pentecost is evidenced by the character of its effects, the spiritual power marking the transformed apostles and the Apostolic Age in general.

3. tongues parting asunder, like as of fire: i. e. the fire-like appearance, originally one, broke up into tongues of flame, as it were, and distributed itself among those assembled and 'sat upon each one of them.' The phenomenon is taken in the narrative to symbolize the gift of tongues described in the next verse, viz. as one in source and essence, but various in manifested forms. 'The gift was at once collective and individual; it was for the whole body, and for each member.' Fire was an early and natural symbol of the energy and glory of the Divine, as in Exod. iii. 2, where 'the angel of the Lord appeared' to Moses 'in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush': and John the Baptist uses it (Matt. iii. 11; Luke iii. 16) figuratively, to describe one aspect (i. e. the purifying might) of the Holy Spirit power to go forth from Messiah (as pictured by Mal[illegible]). In our passage the idea is somewhat different, viz. tha[illegible]rvid inspiration of utterance, apt to kindle or melt the heare[illegible]art.

4. filled with the Holy Spirit: rat[illegible] 'with holy spirit,' i. e. the Holy Spirit's *power* promised in [illegible]8; cf. Luke iv. 14, 'in the power of the Spirit,' and particularly Acts x. 38, 'how that God anointed him (Jesus of Nazareth) with *holy spirit and*

speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance.

Now there were dwelling at Jerusalem Jews, devout 5
men, from every nation under heaven. And when this 6

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with power.' Attention must be paid (save where the article is due to context, as in viii. 18, referring back to verse 17) to the presence or absence of the definite article in the various Greek phrases uniformly rendered 'the Holy Spirit' in the English versions. See Appended Note D.

with other tongues: i. e. with tongues of a kind different from that hitherto used by them, the idea expressed by the phrase 'fresh tongues,' in Mark xvi. 17 (part of the closing verses added by a later hand, and here perhaps with Acts ii. in view). So much is clear, viz. that their speech at this time was of a kind unusual to them. But in what lay its freshness or strangeness? To this two answers are given: (1) the use of foreign languages before unknown to the speakers; (2) *Glossolalia*, or inspired speech, such as is described most fully in 1 Cor. xiv. The latter was an ecstatic or ejaculatory expression of the religious emotions, which took several forms ('to another divers kinds of tongues,' 1 Cor. xii. 10), but had little relation to any human language. Thus it needed a corresponding gift of the Spirit for its interpretation, in order to make its inner meaning clear either to the speaker or to his hearers (1 Cor. xii. 10, xiv. 2, 5, 13 f., 27). There can be little doubt that the former view of what Acts here intends, is correct. See Appended Note C.

5. Now there were dwelling at Jerusalem Jews: a complete representation of Judaism, including members of the Jewish Dispersion or *Diaspora*, temporarily resident for the Feast or permanent inhabitants. Among the latter would be many who had lived abroad for a large part of their lives, but had been drawn to the sacred hearth of Judaism to spend the remainder of their days under the shadow of its Temple and amid all its religious privileges (see vi. 1). These, as well as the more temporary sojourners first alluded to, would include certain proselytes fully incorporated by circumcision into Judaism; see verse 10.

devout men: the term rendered 'devout' or 'reverent' occurs four times in our author, and nowhere else in the N. T., though its noun and verb occur in Heb. v. 7, xii. 28, and xi. 7 respectively. As the adjective is not found in classical Greek, but only in the LXX (Lev. xv. 31; Micah vii. 2), it may be a phrase borrowed from the LXX—though this again may imply its general use in Egypt and elsewhere. It has in all cases the suggestion of devoutness according to Jewish standards: see Luke ii. 25 (Simeon), Acts viii. 2, xxii. 12 (Ananias).

sound was heard, the multitude came together, and were confounded, because that every man heard them speaking
7 in his own language. And they were all amazed and marvelled, saying, Behold, are not all these which speak
8 Galilæans? And how hear we, every man in our own
9 language, wherein we were born? Parthians and Medes and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, in Judæa

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6. this sound: implying that the sound reached beyond the assembled brethren, and was therefore quite objective.

the multitude: including all types of Jew, both Palestinian and foreign; cf. verse 14.

7. Galilæans: i. e. men of the provincial, not the travelled type, and obviously unfamiliar with all the countries alluded to in 9–11.

9–11. It is hard to see on what principle the list rests. Agrippa in his letter to the Emperor Caius Caligula names as regions in which Jews abounded the following:—Egypt, Phœnice, Syria, —the nearest neighbours of Judæa; Pamphylia, Cilicia, the bulk of Asia as far as Bithynia and the recesses of Pontus, and even Europe (naming Macedonia and Greece); the great islands, such as Eubœa, Cyprus, Crete; and, beyond the Euphrates, Babylon and the other leading satrapies in that quarter. And he sums up by referring to the European, Asiatic, and Libyan (African) continents, as well as the islands, as full of Jews. In Acts the reckoning begins from the east and moves westwards. The first four items correspond to the regions 'beyond the Euphrates' in the other list. Then the enumeration becomes more irregular, its aim being to enforce the representative character of the gathering —the first-fruits of Judaism everywhere, itself the first-fruits of humanity at large.

As regards the odd way in which the last items, 'Cretans and Arabians,' come in after 'sojourners from Rome, both Jews and proselytes' (whether the last clause refer to the whole of the foregoing or only to its immediate antecedent, i. e. residents in Rome, see verse 10), they seem thrown in by an afterthought, in order to make more explicit the catholic nature of the crowd. In witnessing to it, the disciples were already beginning to witness of Jesus to the full extent of the world's limits, fulfilling i. 8. The absence of all reference to Greece proper is due to the fact that Greek was the universal language, rather than one of many.

9. dwellers in Mesopotamia: i. e. by birth, though now resident in Jerusalem; cf. the Cyrenians resident at Jerusalem, in vi. 9, xi. 20, and Simon named in Luke xxiii. 26. The periphrasis 'dwellers

and Cappadocia, in Pontus and Asia, in Phrygia and 10
Pamphylia, in Egypt and the parts of Libya about
Cyrene, and sojourners from Rome, both Jews and pro-
selytes, Cretans and Arabians, we do hear them speaking 11

in Mesopotamia' seems employed in preference to a clumsy adjective formed from Mesopotamia.

in Judæa. The omission of Syria, which involves also the juxtaposition of Judæa and Cappadocia—regions unrelated geographically—is rather strange. It is probably due to the fact that the inhabitants of Judæa and Syria spoke practically one language, Aramaic, with only dialectic differences. The list is one of languages rather than geographical areas.

Asia. This term is here used in a popular or Greek sense (in contrast to the governmental or Roman), to denote the western coast lands of Asia Minor, those washed by the Ægean Sea, which were on the whole homogeneous in speech and culture. In the Roman sense the province of 'Asia' included Phrygia, which here occurs alongside it, as ethnographically or linguistically distinct.

10. the parts of Libya about Cyrene: the fertile coast-district lying some way to the west of Egypt, and known as the Cyrenaic Pentapolis ; the modern Tripoli. Jews from Cyrene, its capital, formed a distinct element in one synagogue in Jerusalem, frequented by Jews trained abroad (Acts vi. 9).

sojourners from Rome: *lit.* '(the) sojourning Romans.' Elsewhere in Acts 'Roman' always means a Roman citizen : only here the whole stress is upon locality as index of language, not upon political status ; so that it may well be an exception, and mean one living in Rome (cf. our use of 'Londoner'). This sense is perhaps hinted by the addition of 'sojourning.' Grammatically, indeed, 'sojourning' might refer to Jerusalem rather than Rome, on the analogy of xvii. 21, where we have 'the sojourning foreigners,' as distinct from Athenians proper. But the meaning 'Latin-speaking Jews hailing from Rome' alone suits the context.

both Jews and proselytes. A summarizing touch, meant to remind the reader of the catholicity of the crowd, within the limits of the older covenant. The two types of 'Jews, devout men,' viz. born Jews and Jewish converts, were found in all the regions just enumerated.

11. Cretans and Arabians: a clause added, by way of afterthought, to heighten the impression of unrestricted appeal to the children of the Covenant everywhere, even in the most outlying regions.

speaking . . . the mighty works of God. The word for

12 in our tongues the mighty works of God. And they were
all amazed, and were perplexed, saying one to another,
13 What meaneth this? But others mocking said, They
are filled with new wine.
14 But Peter, standing up with the eleven, lifted up his
voice, and spake forth unto them, *saying*, Ye men of

'mighty works' is that used in Deut. xi. 2; Ps. lxxi. 19 in the LXX; and the theme was no doubt the Divine redemptive action manifest in the Resurrection and the fulfilment of the Father's promise of the Messianic Spirit. Cf. Acts x. 46, where we have the kindred verb, to 'magnify' God. To both Paul's description in 1 Cor. xiv. applies: 'He that speaketh in a tongue speaketh not unto men, but unto God . . .; in (a) spirit he speaketh mysteries' (xiv. 2). Thus the disciples at Pentecost were pouring forth ecstatic prayer, song, or blessing (xiv. 14–17), by inspiration, but without the full co-operation of the understanding.

13. others mocking: not from among the 'devout men' of verse 5 (the 'all' of verse 12), but from other and different elements in the mixed 'multitude' of verse 6. These too were impressed in a way, but had not sufficient sympathetic insight, bred of devoutness, to feel themselves in the presence of a Divine fact. Hence they mocked at what was beyond their ken. The form of their jibe supports the view that the phenomena were not really those of foreign languages, but of the 'tongues' described by Paul when he imagines 'men uninitiated, or non-believing,' overhearing the 'tongues' and saying that the speakers 'were mad' (1 Cor. xiv. 23). Such comments are water-marks of truth, even though the narrative has undergone gradual reinterpretation in transmission (see Appended Note D).

ii. 14–36. *Peter's speech.*

14. Chrysostom, at the end of the fourth century, noticed how changed a man is the Peter of Acts—changed, yet the same. He is the same in his instinctive leadership; but he has now a disciplined courage which contrasts with his impulsive self-confidence before the Passion and Resurrection (see John xxi. 15 ff.). Luke emphasizes the importance of the occasion by his use of the dramatic participle 'standing up,' or rather, 'having taken his stand' (cf. v. 20, xvii. 22, xxvii. 21), as also by the verbs which follow.

Ye men of Judæa: *lit.* 'men, Jews' (cf. 'men, brethren,' in i. 16, ii. 29), i. e. 'Jews,' with a touch of respect in the tone which may be expressed by 'fellow Jews.' The distinction drawn by this and the following phrase is not between those belonging to

Judæa, and all ye that dwell at Jerusalem, be this known
unto you, and give ear unto my words. For these are 15
not drunken, as ye suppose; seeing it is *but* the third
hour of the day; but this is that which hath been spoken 16
by the prophet Joel;

And it shall be in the last days, saith God, 17
I will pour forth of my Spirit upon all flesh:
And your sons and your daughters shall prophesy,
And your young men shall see visions,
And your old men shall dream dreams:
Yea and on my servants and on my handmaidens in 18
those days

Judæa and to Jerusalem respectively, but between Jews and the whole body of dwellers in Jerusalem, some of whom were not Jews at all (cf. xvii. 21, where again the less distinctive class comes second).

be this known . . . words. The form of this sentence, with its pleonastic parallelism, is Hebraic. It reminds us of what the whole speech bears out, namely, that we have here to do substantially with a Judæo-Christian or Hellenistic witness behind Luke's narrative.

16. this is that, &c. In the passage cited from Joel ii. 28–31, the speaker substitutes 'in the last days' (=the Messianic Age) for the vaguer 'afterwards' of the original, in order to make the application more evident. Other such accentuations or paraphrastic comments, natural to a preacher's use of Scripture, are noted below.

17. upon all flesh. In Joel this means 'all Israel' as distinct from prophets or other favoured individuals. Nor does the expression, as limited by the context, here mean essentially more. Peter as yet thought of Gentiles (so far as present to his mind at all) as destined to share in the Messianic blessing only as proselytes within Israel. It took the experiences recorded in chap. x. to teach him that an uncircumcised believer on Jehovah and His Law could share the Messianic blessing. But as there was ever an open door into Israel through circumcision, Peter could feel even at Pentecost that the Messianic Kingdom, there made manifest, had a message for such Gentiles as were among his hearers.

your daughters shall prophesy: so the four daughters of Philip prophesied, xxi. 9; see also 1 Cor. xi. 5.

18. my servants . . . my handmaidens. The addition of

Will I pour forth of my Spirit; and they shall
prophesy.
19 And I will shew wonders in the heaven above,
And signs on the earth beneath;
Blood, and fire, and vapour of smoke:
20 The sun shall be turned into darkness,
And the moon into blood,
Before the day of the Lord come,
That great and notable *day*:
21 And it shall be, that whosoever shall call on the
name of the Lord shall be saved.

'my,' which rather obscures the original meaning of Joel, viz. that the Divine outpouring should know no limit of condition any more than of sex, is already found in the LXX—which is followed here, as elsewhere in Acts and throughout the N.T. generally.

and they shall prophesy. This paraphrastic addition to the words in Joel indicates the original and essential idea of the Pentecostal phenomenon. Neither here nor elsewhere in the address is there any special countenance given to the notion of foreign tongues. It is prophesying, or inspired religious utterance, that marks Pentecost. Such prophecy colours all the Apostolic Age and its notions of Divine grace, especially in relation to Christian ministry. To grasp this, is to possess the true key to much in primitive Christianity which distinguishes it from later phases.

19 f. wonders in the heaven above, &c.: 'portents' such as those described in verse 20. In the next clause 'signs' is not found in Joel, but is added, along with 'above' and 'beneath,' to bring out the antithesis between heaven and earth as scenes of the Divine warning that 'the day of the Lord'—the day of crisis in the coming of the Messianic Kingdom—is at hand (see Luke xxi. 25-28). In this apocalyptic passage we have set vividly before us the expectations with which the primitive Christians, then and for long after, faced the future—a future assumed to be very near, and as to the details of which their thoughts were too largely shaped by prophecies national and catastrophic in character (see iii. 20 f.).

21. whosoever: see above on 'all flesh,' verse 17.

call on the name of the Lord: i. e. invoke the Lord by name, as Redeemer or Saviour. In Joel this of course means the calling of the faithful Israelite upon Jehovah, as his Covenant

Ye men of Israel, hear these words: Jesus of Nazareth, 22
a man approved of God unto you by mighty works and

God, for deliverance. Here the application, involved in the subsequent argument, and particularly the appeal in verse 38, is to the Messiah, as representing the Jehovah of the original context. This transition to a meaning religiously or practically equivalent, is made quite clearly in Rom. x. 13 f., where the same words are cited by Paul in a context which makes it plain that the Messiah, rather than God Himself, is meant (so 1 Cor. i. 2). In Acts vii. 59 (of Stephen), and ix. 14, 21, xxii. 16 (of Paul himself), this meaning is also manifest.

shall be saved. The 'salvation' contemplated by Joel was one of outward rather than inward state (the latter being presupposed in the fact of confident appeal to Jehovah). It is probable that it meant to Jewish Christians at this time, and even for years after, something rather similar, viz. safety in the Messianic Kingdom and escape from 'the wrath to come' on all unrighteousness, as set forth by John the Baptist (Luke iii. 7, 17; cf. 1 Thess. i. 10, ii. 16, 2 Thess. i. 6–9). That is, salvation was at first conceived eschatologically, rather than as essentially a present spiritual experience.

22. Ye men of Israel. The speaker begins a new stage in his appeal, that connecting the fulfilment of prophecy, just established, with the ministry and resurrection of Jesus as the Messiah. To this end he addresses his hearers in a formula dignified and rich in the associations of the great past. He leaves behind all thought of any but Palestinian Jews, and appeals to what was within their own recent experience.

Jesus of Nazareth. Rather, 'the Nazaræan,' as in iii. 6, iv. 10, vi. 14, xxii. 8, xxiv. 5, xxvi. 9 (not x. 38). This title, with the addition of 'the King of the Jews,' had appeared as superscription on the cross (John xix. 19). It occurs also in vi. 14, xxii. 8, xxvi. 9 (cf. iii. 6, iv. 10), and is the simplest and most Jewish description of him to whom it refers. In this speech we have opportunity of realizing how certain other titles—titles we are apt to use as mere synonyms—arose historically, to express certain aspects or relations of this 'Jesus of Nazareth' to God or man (see verse 36). The name Jesus itself was not an uncommon one, being the Greek form of Joshua (see vii. 45), which is short for Jehoshua = 'the help of Jehovah' (cf. Matt. i. 21). Hence it needed some defining addition, such as 'of Nazareth.' See next note, and Luke xxiv. 19 for the whole verse.

a man approved of God unto you by mighty works. Here we have the process hinted by which Jesus came to be believed on as Messiah: see next verse.

wonders and signs, which God did by him in the midst
23 of you, even as ye yourselves know; him, being delivered
up by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God,
ye by the hand of lawless men did crucify and slay:
24 whom God raised up, having loosed the pangs of death:
because it was not possible that he should be holden of
25 it. For David saith concerning him,

I beheld the Lord always before my face;
For he is on my right hand, that I should not be
moved:
26 Therefore my heart was glad, and my tongue
rejoiced;
Moreover my flesh also shall dwell in hope:

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which God did by him. For this primitive conception of Jesus' works, viz. as God's works through him, see x. 38, 'Jesus, the one from Nazareth,—how that God anointed him with holy spirit and with power (cf. Isa. lxi. 1); . . . for God was with him.' Cf. Luke iii. 16, xi. 20, 'If I by the finger of God cast out demons'; also John xiv. 10 f., 'the Father abiding in me doeth his works' (cf. v. 19).

23. by the determinate counsel, &c. So Luke xxii. 22, xxiv. 26; cf. 1 Pet. i. 2, 'according to the foreknowledge of God the Father' (of the election of Christians).

by the hand of lawless men: i. e. the Romans, the actual agents in the Passion, who are referred to as outside the scope of Israel's Sacred Law; a touch emphasizing the abnormal nature of Israel's treatment of God's Chosen One.

24. whom God raised up: the climax and turning-point of the argument, God's 'great reversal.'

having loosed the pangs of death. 'Pangs,' *lit.* 'birth-pangs,' are said, in the LXX form of Ps. xviii. 4, cxvi. 3, to encompass the speaker. But as the Hebrew word there translated 'pangs' probably means 'cords' (a sense which suits the parallelism of Hebrew poetry), the strange expression 'loosing pangs' is seen to be due to an error in the LXX.

25–28. The application of these words to Messiah rather than to David himself, is justified, in verse 29, by the consideration that certain things in Ps. xvi. were not true of the latter. The quotation agrees almost verbally with the LXX. It must be admitted, however, that the application to the resurrection of Jesus from Hades, the world of the dead, is not warranted by the original

Because thou wilt not leave my soul in Hades,
Neither wilt thou give thy Holy One to see corruption.
Thou madest known unto me the ways of life;
Thou shalt make me full of gladness with thy countenance.

Brethren, I may say unto you freely of the patriarch David, that he both died and was buried, and his tomb

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meaning of the Psalm, which is a prayer for preservation from death and an expression of confidence that it will be fulfilled (see verse 27). Such free use of the O. T. was quite common among the Jews; and indeed the N. T. writings contrast most favourably in this respect with contemporary usage, so far as known to us. The idea lying behind the parallel perceived, even in such a case as the present, is usually profound, admitting of suggestive restatement in terms of our own more rigorous literary methods. Thus, on the assumption that the Psalm was Davidic and Messianic—things taken for granted by Jewish opinion at the time—Peter was justified by the Semitic idea of almost personal identity between parent and offspring (even to remote generations, see verse 30), in using the Psalm to prove, (1) that David's true scion, the Messiah, could not be holden of death, and (2) that Jesus, whom death had not been able to hold, was indeed Messiah. Behind all this lies, both in the Psalm and in Peter's mind, the deep principle—upon which all really depends—that God cannot leave to destruction 'His Holy One,' with whom He is in special covenant relation.

27. wilt not leave my soul in Hades: rather, 'wilt not relinquish my soul unto Hades' (= *Sheol*, the grave). Similarly in the next clause the original reference was not to escape from corruption in one dead, but from death itself (Heb. 'the pit,' R. V. marg.).

thy Holy One: rather, 'thy Dutiful One.' The term here used expresses loving loyalty or piety (see R. V. marg. of Ps. xvi. 10, 'godly,' 'beloved' or 'loving,' *chāsīd*), and suggests the intimacy of the tie between Jehovah and His worshipper.

29. freely: 'boldly,' 'outright.' Peter starts with an apology for alluding to the fact that, in spite of the hope expressed in Ps. xvi, its supposed author, David, himself came to the grave. 'Therefore,' continues the apostle, 'the real fulfilment of the hope must be referred to David's Messianic son, for whom, as 'the fruit of his loins,' David may be regarded as speaking.

the patriarch David. There is a special fitness in the

30 is with us unto this day. Being therefore a prophet, and
knowing that God had sworn with an oath to him, that
of the fruit of his loins he would set *one* upon his throne;
31 he foreseeing *this* spake of the resurrection of the Christ,
that neither was he left in Hades, nor did his flesh see
32 corruption. This Jesus did God raise up, whereof we all
33 are witnesses. Being therefore by the right hand of God
exalted, and having received of the Father the promise
of the Holy Ghost, he hath poured forth this, which ye
34 see and hear. For David ascended not into the heavens:
but he saith himself,

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application to David of the title 'patriarch' (='founder of a family' or clan) in connexion with the Messianic line in Israel. Elsewhere it is confined to the first fathers of the Hebrew race, Abraham and the sons of Jacob (Heb. vii. 4; Acts vii. 8 f.).

31. he foreseeing. The analogy of 1 Pet. i. 10–12 suggests that this clause hardly means that David actually realized all that was involved in the fulfilment of the hope inspired by 'the Spirit of Messiah' within him. For the 'salvation,' that was the burden of prophecy, is there represented as a mystery touching which prophets themselves 'sought and searched diligently.'

the Christ. The reference here is to the function or office, and not to the particular person in whom it was fulfilled. That is first supplied in the next verse.

33. by the right hand: i. e. by God's power. So v. 31, 'Him did God exalt with his right hand to be a Prince and a Saviour.' Thus Jesus was installed in possession of his Messianic prerogatives, won on the battlefield of earth. This idea recurs in several forms, in Heb. ii. 9 f., v. 7–10; Rom. i. 3 f.; Eph. iv. 8; Phil. ii. 7–11; John xii. 32. The metaphor 'poured forth' is borrowed from Joel; see verse 17.

34. For David ascended not. The argument returns once more to prove that David himself could not be the subject of certain prophetic passages, which yet must find fulfilment; cf. Eph. iv. 8.

the heavens. One of those Hebraic phrases which shew how Luke is able to preserve the thought of those he reports. The plural form is found elsewhere in Acts only on Stephen's dying lips (vii. 56). It is the outcome of a Jewish theory that there was a plurality of 'heavens,' or realms above the earth, peopled by beings in ascending scale of dignity and moral worth; cf. 2 Cor. xii. 2, 'caught up even to the third heaven'; Eph. ii. 10, 'the principalities and the powers in the heavenly places'

The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand,

Till I make thine enemies the footstool of thy feet. 35

Let all the house of Israel therefore know assuredly, that 36 God hath made him both Lord and Christ, this Jesus whom ye crucified.

Heb. iv. 14, 'who hath passed through the heavens.' In the Apocalyptic literature of the Jews they appear as seven in number.

The Lord said unto my Lord. This passage, which, on the current view of its Davidic authorship, established the unique lordship of Messiah, as even David's superior, comes from Psalm cx, a psalm much used in the N.T., especially in argument against the traditional Jewish notions of Messiah as a mere Davidic king. Jesus used it in an *argumentum ad hominem*, to refute Pharisaic prejudice against himself on its own principles (Matt. xxii. 43 f.); and it reappears both in Paul (1 Cor. xv. 25) and in Hebrews (i. 13, v. 6, vii. 17, 21, x. 13).

35. Till I make thine enemies the footstool of thy feet. See Heb. x. 13, where Christ's attitude in heaven is represented in a similar fashion, 'from henceforth expecting (waiting) till,' &c. (cf. 1 Cor. xv. 25). It is probable that the methods by which this was to come about were conceived in the early days as drastic and forceful, like those implied in the Baptist's picture of Messiah's sifting of Israel (Luke iii. 17): and the time ere Messiah should return in victory, doubtless seemed to disciples at Pentecost as but a moment, which might at any time expire.

36. assuredly. This in the Greek is the first word in the verse, giving solemnity to what is the gist and kernel of the whole speech.

made him both Lord and Christ, this Jesus, &c. Here we see that the titles 'Lord' and 'Christ,' familiar to us in various N. T. combinations with the proper name 'Jesus,' were, to begin with, official titles, expressive of function bestowed of God. The term 'Lord' here echoes the use of it in the Psalm, 'my Lord'; and there it is equivalent to 'Messiah,' God's 'Anointed,' or in Greek 'Christ,' which is accordingly added. God 'made' or constituted Jesus 'the Christ,' just as He is said, in Heb. iii. 1 f., to have 'made' or 'appointed' him 'the Apostle and High Priest of our confession.' Of the two official titles here used as equivalents, 'Lord,' as being more immediately intelligible to Gentiles, came to be largely used, alone or in combination with 'Jesus' or 'Jesus Christ' (a sort of more solemn proper name), to express what Jesus was to the faith and loyalty of Gentile believers (see

37 Now when they heard *this*, they were pricked in their
heart, and said unto Peter and the rest of the apostles,
38 Brethren, what shall we do? And Peter *said* unto them,
Repent ye, and be baptized every one of you in the name

Rom. x. 9; 1 Cor. xii. 3). 'Christ' or 'the Christ' remained more characteristic of Judæo-Christian usage. These distinctions of course apply only roughly, but seem true of the tendencies in either case. A good parallel to our passage occurs in 1 Pet. iii. 15, 'sanctify in your hearts (the) Christ as Lord.'

whom ye crucified: an effective last word, a home-thrust at the conscience of the auditors.

[*Reflexions on Peter's Pentecostal address.* Its fitness must not blind us to the fact which emerges from a due consideration of the speeches in Acts as a whole, that what we have before us hardly professes to be a full or *verbatim* report of what was said; for the preservation of such there was, indeed, no adequate means. It is too brief (cf. verse 40), too finished in form, to be more than a summary of the drift of Peter's address reduced to writing from memory at a considerably later date. But in any case it carries us behind Luke's own standpoint to that of Judæo-Christian piety in Jerusalem, before Stephen and Paul had introduced a new ferment into the conceptions of these early believers.]

ii. 37-42. *Effect of Peter's address.* The argument, connecting as it did the impressive phenomena which were its occasion with the recent tragedy of which many of his hearers had been in some sense witnesses, if not actors, met with a prompt and wide-spread response. To this the simple, downright testimony of the witnesses must have contributed greatly. The psychological atmosphere was electrical: and the results at such a time are not to be measured by ordinary standards (see verse 41).

37. what shall we do? Remember the urgency and inducement to instant decision involved in the conception that the signs of the 'last days' were actually present in their midst.

38. Repent ye. The specific subject for repentance—that by which, as symptom, their general sinfulness as a generation was gauged—was the perversity and culpable blindness manifested in an attitude of hostility or indifference to him whom the facts and arguments just adduced seemed to prove to be the Messiah—the very type of holiness and goodness in the sight of God. If the witnesses were telling the truth, then a great sin, the greatest conceivable, had been committed by the nation collectively; and the guilt lay on each soul, unless it dissociated itself from the collective action. But this meant joining those who professed

of Jesus Christ unto the remission of your sins; and ye

themselves believers on the crucified but risen Messiah. And the recognized sign of such an adhesion to a fresh religious community, and particularly the Messianic community (witness John's preparatory ministry for the coming Kingdom), was baptism. This rite declared the person submitting to it virtually dead to his old state, as one of religious uncleanness, and consecrated or sanctified to a new covenant relation to God (cf. xxvi. 18, 20)—the result being remission of past sins, the acts of the now cancelled former relation and state ('the dead works' of Heb. ix. 14). Christian baptism meant that the ground on which the baptized relied for assurance of forgiveness and acceptance into the new relation of favour with God, was the person and work of the Messiah in whose name they were called to repentance. The technical or compressed phrase for this was 'baptism in the name of Jesus Christ'; see also x. 48.

in the name of Jesus Christ: i. e. making the confession 'Jesus is the Christ,' which was the burden of Peter's sermon and the basis of the Christian Church (see Mark viii. 29, with Matt. xvi. 17, 18). This seems to have been the simple form of the original baptismal confession in Judæo-Christian circles; the corresponding formula in Gentile churches being 'Jesus is Lord.' This seems clearly implied in Rom. x. 9 ff., 'If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the word, Jesus *is* Lord (see R. V. marg. and verse 8), and believe in thy heart that God raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved: for with the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation . . .; for, Whosoever shall invoke the name of the Lord shall be saved' (cf. 1 Cor. xii. 3; Acts xvi. 31, xix. 5). The spiritual fact in baptism was the heart-felt confession or invocation of Jesus as one's Lord; see Acts xxii. 16, where Ananias says to Saul, 'Arise, and get thyself baptized, and wash away thy sins, invoking his (the Righteous One's) Name.' This act of renunciation and self-dedication was in the early Apostolic Age usually 'sealed' with a palpable token of the Divine acceptance of the proffered life, by 'the gift of the Holy Spirit' as manifest in 'tongues' and 'prophecy' or inspired thanksgiving (Acts viii. 17–20, where note the word 'saw' in verse 18, x. 45 f., xi. 17, xix. 5 f.: also 2 Cor. i. 22; Eph. i. 13 f.). This consecrating gift of the Holy Spirit was 'the earnest' of the believer's full possession of 'the inheritance' in the Kingdom, and, on the other hand, of God's ownership (one day to be made more manifest in the redemption of the whole man, body as well as soul: see Eph. i. 14; 2 Cor. i. 22). That the one essential condition of such acceptance was the receptive state of heart known as 'faith' (see 1 Pet. iii. 21), is proved by Acts x. 44 ff., where baptism, as the formal act of incorporation

39 shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost. For to you is
the promise, and to your children, and to all that are
afar off, *even* as many as the Lord our God shall call
40 unto him. And with many other words he testified,
and exhorted them, saying, Save yourselves from this
41 crooked generation. They then that received his word
were baptized: and there were added *unto them* in that

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into the Messianic Kingdom, follows the manifestation of the Spirit which sealed Gentile faith as accepted of God. The phrase, baptism '*in* the name of Jesus Christ' (cf. x. 48), emphasizes the ground of acceptance (see x. 43). In some cases, however, we have '*into* the name of the Lord Jesus' (viii. 16, xix. 5), where the stress falls on the object of the new allegiance thus inaugurated.

39. to all that are afar off, even **as many,** &c. Joel ii. 32, in the midst of which Peter broke off in verse 21, reads 'for in Mount Zion and in Jerusalem there shall be those that escape . . . and among the remnant (those) whom the Lord doth call.' For 'among the remnant' (where the LXX is quite different) he substitutes 'those afar off,' a phrase used in Isa. lvii. 19; and he uses it in a technical sense, as denoting the Gentiles, from among whom God was calling elect souls (see Eph. ii. 13, 17). But Peter has as yet no thought of God's 'calling' Gentiles save as proselytes of Israel (by circumcision).

40. with many other words: a hint of the summary character of the whole record.

testified, and exhorted: rather, 'testified emphatically, and kept on exhorting.'

Save yourselves from this crooked generation. The idea is that of escape, somewhat as in Joel ii. 32 (cited in note on verse 39), from the collective guilt and fate of an evil age over which judgement is imminent (cf. Luke xvii. 25). In this respect, as in others already noted, the way in which the narrative moves within the earlier and narrower horizon, natural to Peter and the rest at this time, proves how faithfully the Gentile Luke has reproduced an earlier authority. And this gives us fresh assurance that in the highly condensed account which follows, touching the condition of the earliest days of the Messianic community, he is still drawing upon positive information, and not vague tradition, much less upon his own fancy, as has sometimes been suggested.

41. there were added. The verb has no word added to define its bearing. It was one already used in the LXX (Isa. xiv. 1; Esther ix. 27) of the act of proselytes in joining themselves unto Israel. So here we might translate, 'there joined (the

day about three thousand souls. And they continued 42
stedfastly in the apostles' teaching and fellowship, in the
breaking of bread and the prayers.

Messianic community, the true Israel) . . . some 3,000 souls.' The expression practically defines the effect of baptism, viz. the personal act of adhesion to the community in which dwelt the Holy Spirit and so salvation (see verse 47).

about three thousand souls. Hesitation has been felt about so great a number being baptized on a single day in Jerusalem, where water for the purpose of their immersion (after the manner of baptism at that time and place, cf. Mark i. 10) was not abundant. In so far as the difficulty is not due merely to our ignorance of the local conditions, it may be met, not so much by questioning the numbers—which are given as a rough estimate—as by the suggestion that, while such large numbers embraced on that very day the conviction 'Jesus is the Christ,' they need not all have been actually baptized then and there.

42. in the apostles' teaching and fellowship, in the breaking of bread and the prayers. From the first we get an impression of wonderful unity and brotherliness as marking the Messianic community. With what moving power would the Master's words be rehearsed by men in whose imaginations the Speaker's looks and tones, as he had spoken them, still lived and gave each saying life! In the atmosphere of soul thus created self-contained isolation was simply impossible to believers. The impulse to 'fellowship' of the most intimate and complete character mastered every other feeling. In spiritual comradeship, then, they remained, finding fit occasions for the same in 'the breaking of the bread' of social love (as sanctified by the associations of the Last Supper), and in 'the prayers' accompanying this and other of their distinctive gatherings. 'The breaking of the bread' here does not mean a mere form of the brotherly charity referred to in verse 45 and vi. 1: in that case it would hardly have been mentioned here apart. The phrase seems meant to cover a distinctive form of Christian 'fellowship,' the exact nature of which is assumed to be known to the reader, as in xx. 7, 11 (cf. Luke xxiv. 35). The words, general as they are in themselves, had to our historian's mind a specific meaning, and one which the *Didaché* shows to have been recognized by Judæo-Christians, as well as in Pauline circles (see 1 Cor. x. 16, xi. 20–24). It is true that this commemorative or Eucharistic breaking of bread at first occurred in connexion with a sacred common meal ('a Lord's Supper,' 1 Cor. xi. 20 f.): but it gave to that common meal a peculiarly sacred character (cf. 1 Cor. xi. 26 ff.). This character was due to the special prayer of blessing or thanksgiving for

43 And fear came upon every soul: and many wonders
44 and signs were done by the apostles. And all that

redemption in Messiah's blood, which was the culminating point of the 'fellowship' in bread and wine, animated by the associations of the Last Supper. Such prayers were perhaps among those meant by 'the prayers' in our verse. But others may have been offered collectively within the temple precincts (see v. 13), in praise and blessing to God for His grace in the Messianic Salvation (verse 46, cf. Luke xxiv. 53), as well as prayers in more private gatherings, answering to the prayers in the worship of the synagogue. But there is as yet nothing to suggest that the Christians had ceased to attend the synagogues, or had begun to form synagogues of their own new type. Their gatherings for worship were of a more informal and semi-private nature—such as 'the breaking of the bread' must have been—and so were supplementary to the existing worship, rather than in rivalry with it. Thus, to the outward eye, the followers of Jesus the Messiah were but one fresh sect within Judaism, having for its distinctive feature a specially warm and devotional piety, associated with the memory of its Founder, the Prophet of Nazareth. We have yet to see what it was that gave to the 'Nazaræans,' as they were called by others, a place all their own in Jewish religion, and finally brought on a breach with official Judaism.

A summary of the earliest phase in the life of the Messianic Community (cf. iv. 32 ff., v. 12 ff., 42, vi. 7, ix. 31). ii. 43–47.

Here accuracy seems sacrificed in a measure to broad popular statement. Too great universality and uniformity of effect are implied by the rhetorical use of 'every' and 'all' in verses 43–47. One main object is to explain how the Christians attracted general and growing attention, and so became marked off as a distinct element within Judaism. Their distinctive marks were:—(1) The signs of superhuman power visible among their leaders, the apostles—giving rise to a certain awe in all who saw and heard: (2) the brotherly love which animated their every-day conduct, and the joyous spirit of their piety in public and in private: (3) the constant increase in their numbers. These conjoint tokens of Holy Spirit power in their midst, and not merely 'community of goods' in any sense, occupy Luke's thought in this section, as elsewhere.

43. fear came upon every soul. Rather, 'awe began to creep over every soul.' This awe, as in the presence of the superhuman, was caused primarily by the Pentecostal outpouring and its issues just recorded; but it was enhanced by other signs of Divine power among the Christians.

44. all that believed were together. The best-supported

believed were together, and had all things common; and 45
they sold their possessions and goods, and parted them
to all, according as any man had need. And day by 46
day, continuing stedfastly with one accord in the temple,
and breaking bread at home, they did take their food
with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God, and 47

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reading omits 'were'; the sense seems to be, 'all that had believed unto united fellowship' (*lit.* 'to the same point,' 'together'; see note on i. 14).

had all things common. Rather, 'were wont to hold (or regard) all things as common,' and acted in this spirit, as Luke goes on to record; cf. iv. 32.

45. sold their possessions and goods, &c. The imperfect tenses in the Greek imply a process or habit extending over a period; and the form of the whole verse (esp. 'they were wont to sell and distribute,' as contrasted with 'distribution was made,' iv. 35) shews that as yet it was a matter of individual brotherliness towards the needs of others, as they arose from time to time, 'just as any one might chance to have need.' The more organized and centralized distribution of relief only grew up in the course of time (iv. 34 f., vi. 1). By 'possessions,' real property, such as lands and houses, is primarily meant (see iv. 37, v. 1 f.).

46. The emphasis of this verse must lie on the thought of the clause containing the main verb, 'they did take their food *with gladness*,' &c. That is, their ordinary life, even on its material side, was radiant with a new joy—the joy of perfect religious fellowship. Such a consciousness was fostered by daily reunions for common worship of two types (see verse 42). They met as one body in their loved temple (viz. in the spacious portico called Solomon's, v. 12); but also more in detail, in private houses, where the sacred 'breaking of bread' drew them together afresh with the most moving of associations—those of the Last Supper. That there is no direct connexion between 'their food' and the clause just preceding, is shewn by the fact that there can be none with the former clause, which yet stands in the same grammatical relation to 'did take their food.' Both clauses simply shew how their hearts were kept exultantly joyous and open to each other, in an atmosphere of gratitude to God. The same feature of their life is dwelt on in very similar fashion in the closing words of Luke's Gospel.

with gladness and singleness of heart: 'exultant joy' and the open-heartedness, which overflow in generous and confiding intercourse. Their souls had been touched by a great experience

having favour with all the people. And the Lord added to them day by day those that were being saved.

3 Now Peter and John were going up into the temple at

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of the Divine nearness and goodness, such as expels egoism, suspicion, and all selfishness; cf. John xvi. 22, 'but I will see you again, and your heart shall rejoice, and your joy no one taketh away from you.' See also Luke i. 14, 44; Acts xvi. 34.

47. having favour with all the people. Such a spirit and mode of life everywhere and always appeals to the masses: and it is to the populace of Jerusalem as a whole, as distinct from the official classes (the Sadducees and Scribes and leading Pharisees), that reference is made. Even when friction arose, as described in the sequel, the heart of 'the people' in our modern sense—the humbler folk who have a sure instinct for human goodness as such, even when heterodox in belief and religious usage—continued to incline towards the Christians, apart from the terrorism of the authorities (see v. 13).

added to them—marg. 'together': the phrase noticed in verse 44 as denoting community or fellowship. One might render, 'And the Lord was ever adding such as were daily finding salvation with the united community.' For the thought see notes on 40 f.

A work of power leads to greater publicity, and occasions opposition. iii. 1—iv. 4.

Having just referred to 'wonders and signs' as wrought through the apostles (ii. 43), our author proceeds to cite an instance, notable in itself, but chosen as being the occasion of the first friction with the authorities of Judaism. The account is so vivid and so circumstantial as to time and place, that one feels in real contact with genuine eye-witness; and this impression is borne out by certain Hebraic touches in the explanatory address, which is itself strikingly faithful, in its rudimentary Messianic features, to the earliest days of Christian preaching. We are reminded by the fact that the apostles were on their way to pray in the temple (cf. Luke xviii. 10) at a stated hour, that their new faith had not yet presented itself to their minds otherwise than as the perfected form of the national religion. And this is just how Peter presents it in his address, iii. 19–26.

iii. 1–11. *Healing of a lame man.*

1. Peter and John. As John elsewhere plays no part in the narrative of Acts, save in the account of the visit of inspection to Samaria in viii. 14, we here feel ourselves indubitably in touch

the hour of prayer, *being* the ninth *hour*. And a certain 2
man that was lame from his mother's womb was carried,
whom they laid daily at the door of the temple which is
called Beautiful, to ask alms of them that entered into
the temple; who seeing Peter and John about to go 3
into the temple, asked to receive an alms. And Peter, 4
fastening his eyes upon him, with John, said, Look on us.
And he gave heed unto them, expecting to receive some- 5
thing from them. But Peter said, Silver and gold have 6
I none; but what I have, that give I thee. In the name
of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, walk. And he took him by 7
the right hand, and raised him up: and immediately his

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with genuinely primitive conditions (cf. Luke xxii. 8, perhaps from a like source); see Gal. ii. 9, and the close bond between Peter and John implied in the Gospels, especially the Johannine Gospel.

going up: i. e. from the lower city to Mount Zion, on which the temple stood; cf. Luke xviii. 10.

at the hour of prayer. The hour in question, 3 p.m., was that of the evening sacrifice. There is some reason to believe that at this period devout Jews were wont to observe three set hours of prayer, on the model of Dan. vi. 10, cf. Ps. lv. 17. Such a custom is implied in *Didaché*, viii. 3.

2. was carried: better, 'was in the act of being carried.'

at the door of the temple which is called Beautiful. This door or gate (verse 10) was one of the many entrances to the temple precincts (not to the sanctuary itself). We cannot locate with certainty the one here meant, though it was near 'Solomon's Portico' (verse 11), on the eastern side of the temple. The detail is a mark of first-hand witness behind our narrative.

4. fastening his eyes upon him: to turn the man's attention upon the speaker himself, rather than on the alms expected (verse 5), in order to make him genuinely receptive of the words to be uttered (cf. the reference to 'faith' in verse 16.)

6. In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth (*lit.* 'the Nazaræan'). Here 'the name' is tantamount to 'the authority' of the person referred to, as in O. T. passages where 'in the name of Jehovah' is used; e. g. Exod. v. 23; Jer. xi. 21. Cf. Luke ix. 49, [illegible] 17; Acts iv. 7, 10, ix. 27, xvi. 18, and xix. 13. There are analogies also in Greek papyri and inscriptions for such uses of 'name,' especially in the case of gods (Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, 246 f., 197).

8 feet and his ankle-bones received strength. And leaping
up, he stood, and began to walk; and he entered with
them into the temple, walking, and leaping, and praising
9 God. And all the people saw him walking and praising
10 God: and they took knowledge of him, that it was he
which sat for alms at the Beautiful Gate of the temple:
and they were filled with wonder and amazement at that
which had happened unto him.
11 And as he held Peter and John, all the people ran
together unto them in the porch that is called Solomon's,
12 greatly wondering. And when Peter saw it, he answered
unto the people, Ye men of Israel, why marvel ye at this
man? or why fasten ye your eyes on us, as though by
our own power or godliness we had made him to walk?
13 The God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob, the
God of our fathers, hath glorified his Servant Jesus;

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11. as he held Peter and John: i. e. clinging to his benefactors in his excitement—a lifelike touch.

the porch that is called Solomon's. Rather the *portico*, or colonnade, running along the eastern side of the temple: see John x. 23, 'Jesus was walking in the temple in Solomon's porch.' It seems to have survived from the former temple, whence its name.

iii. 12-16. *The real ground and meaning of the miracle.* It was part of the glorification of Jesus, which centred in God's raising him from the dead. The act of power in Jesus' name was but a corollary of that great reversal of human misjudgement. Contrast between the true character of Jesus, justified by God's own act, and the treatment meted out to him by the Jewish people, determines the choice of certain words in these verses, which supply several most effective antitheses.

12. by our own power or godliness. Peter denies that the healing power was within himself, or that it lay within his control in virtue of any personal merit. This defines the true biblical idea of human agency in relation to miracle; it is the congruous vehicle for the Divine activity itself (see iv. 30). The connexion is one of moral harmony as between man and the Divine Worker.

13. hath glorified his Servant Jesus. It is best, as preserving

whom ye delivered up, and denied before the face of Pilate, when he had determined to release him. But ye 14 denied the Holy and Righteous One, and asked for a murderer to be granted unto you, and killed the Prince 15 of life; whom God raised from the dead; whereof we

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the order of gradual explanation, to understand the glory in question as that of the tokens of Messianic dignity given to Jesus during the earthly ministry, as in John viii. 54, 'it is my Father that glorifieth me'; cf. John ii. 11, xi. 4, xii. 29, and Luke iv. 15, 'being glorified of all.' This view will be strengthened by a study of iii. 26, v. 30, which probably set forth the same idea. Meantime one may note that it suits the language of prophecy, which viewed the Messianic vocation as a supreme glory; see Isa. lii. 13 (lv. 5), to which there is probably an implicit reference in the title chosen. For it opens the great passage depicting the Servant of Jehovah in Isa. lii. 13—liii. 12 (cf. Matt. xii. 18 = Isa. xlii. 1). This description of Jesus is a new feature, as compared with Peter's address at Pentecost; and it recurs in the prayer of the apostolic circle, in iv. 27, 30. It seems to have been Peter's favourite way of conceiving his Master—the Lamb without blemish, who through meek suffering won redemption and power and glory (1 Pet. i. 19, ii. 21-24). The actual phrase, 'Servant,' *lit.* 'Child,' of Jehovah, belongs to the LXX of Isa. lii. 13, liii. 11, in the latter of which passages occurs the phrase 'My righteous Servant' (see note on next verse). The term 'bondservant' (*doulos*) is never applied to Jesus (as to Moses and to Christians); and this distinction is observed in early Christian literature outside the N. T., especially in the Eucharistic Prayers of the *Didaché* (ix. 2, 3, x. 2, 3: cf. *Barnabas*, iii. 6, vi. 1; 1 *Clement*, lix. 2-4).

14. the Holy and Righteous One. The Servant of Jehovah is still in Peter's mind; for we read in iv. 27, 30, of God's 'holy Servant Jesus' (cf. 'My righteous Servant' in Isa. liii. 11). Yet it may be that 'the Righteous One' was already a recognized title of Messiah, to judge from the *Book of Enoch*, xxxviii. 2, xlvi. 3, liii. 6: see also Acts vii. 52, 'who shewed before of the coming of the Righteous One,' and xxii. 14 (cf. 1 Pet. iii. 18; Rev. iii. 7; 1 John ii. 1, 20).

15. and killed the Prince of life. Here the choice of the title 'Prince of life' is most effective as a contrast both to 'killed' and to 'murderer.' The phrase itself is somewhat difficult. The rendering in the margin, 'Author,' is nearer the true sense in this passage; but the original, *archēgos*, both here and in the other cases of its occurrence in the N. T. (v. 31; Heb. ii. 10, 'Author (Captain) of their salvation'; Heb. xii. 2, 'Jesus the Author

16 are witnesses. And by faith in his name hath his name
made this man strong, whom ye behold and know: yea,
the faith which is through him hath given him this
17 perfect soundness in the presence of you all. And now,
brethren, I wot that in ignorance ye did it, as did also
18 your rulers. But the things which God foreshewed by
the mouth of all the prophets, that his Christ should

(Captain) and perfecter of faith') means primarily 'leader,' 'inaugurator.' Thus the sense here would be 'Pioneer and Inaugurator of life,' which accords admirably with the sequel 'whom God raised from the dead.'

16. Faith, inspired by the name of Jesus the Christ, supplies the receptivity to which God vouchsafes his power in healing. Is the faith in question that of the lame man (see Luke vii. 50; Acts xiv. 9), or of the apostles (see Matt. xvii. 20)? Probably the former, though the point is not as clear as in xiv. 9.

iii. 17–26. *Blessing in store for Israel on condition of repentance.*

17. in ignorance ye did it. Cf. Luke xxiii. 34, and 1 Tim. i. 13, 'Howbeit I obtained mercy, because I did it ignorantly in unbelief.' Hence we gather that it was the fact that the Jewish people had not realized what it was doing in bringing about Jesus' death, which made the apostles hopeful at first of a general national repentance, such as they plead for in 19 f., 26. For defiant sin, done 'with a high hand,' Hebrew religion recognized no forgiveness (Num. xv. 30). It is remarkable that even the rulers are here included, though they must have been held culpable in a special degree. This generous attitude to the Jewish people and its leaders marks as both genuine and early the witness here reported, and also supports a comparatively early date for Acts itself; for the feeling against those who crucified the Christ soon became, especially among Gentile Christians, strong and sweeping, as the Jewish nation as a whole persisted in its rejection of Jesus as Messiah; see note on verse 18.

18. A reassuring consideration, not indeed excusing the Jews, but shewing that the fact that God's Messiah had actually been crucified at His people's hands, need not now hinder faith, since such suffering was embraced within the Divine providence as outlined by prophecy: cf. iv. 28.

by the mouth of all the prophets: broadly speaking, i. e. by prophecy as a whole (so in x. 43). The agreement between the sentiment and that in 1 Pet. i. 11 is striking: cf. Luke xxiv. 26 f.

his Christ. Cf. iv. 26, where Peter is quoting Ps. ii. 2. This

suffer, he thus fulfilled. Repent ye therefore, and turn 19
again, that your sins may be blotted out, that so there
may come seasons of refreshing from the presence of the
Lord; and that he may send the Christ who hath been 20
appointed for you, *even* Jesus: whom the heaven must 21

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reference to God's Anointed is in perfect keeping with the thought of his hearers, as distinct from that of Luke's readers, to whom the strictly Messianic associations of the title 'Christ' were alien. Thus the text on which the A. V. is based, and which shews the changed atmosphere of the Gentile Church's life, transfers the 'his' from 'the Christ' to 'the prophets.' Such a genuinely historic turn of phrase as 'his Christ,' like the brotherly sympathy with abashed hearers which speaks in these verses (especially verse 17), is just what one expects in the address of a Jew to Jews at the time in question. For Peter's hearers were struggling with the awful dilemma created by their traditional Messianic Hope, which had no place for the Crucifixion, and the evidence for the Resurrection as God's reversal of the national judgement in the case of Jesus.

19. your sins: particularly as implied in their being so terribly at cross-purposes with their God as to have rejected his Chosen One, as a sinner.

seasons of **refreshing**, or 'of revival,' as in 2 Macc. xiii. 11; i. e. a series of experiences of Divine blessing, outpoured as at Pentecost (and in the life described in ii. 43-47), which should gradually extend to all Israel and issue in the return of Jesus, God's appointed Messiah, in manifest power and glory.

Such was clearly the forecast of the immediate future entertained in those early days. How gradually and by what stages it faded away, and was replaced by one which involved the rejection of the Jewish generation, as a whole, which had part in the historical rejection of Jesus as Messiah, we cannot say. But it is most important, in relation to the fidelity with which the author of Acts embodied his materials, to observe that this first and highly Jewish form of Christian expectation has been preserved even after the gathering in of the Gentiles, the persecution and death of several of the leading apostles—even the destruction of the national life itself in the Fall of Jerusalem in A. D. 70—had entirely changed the perspective of Christians like our author and his readers.

21. Meantime, until his people become ready for him through the waves of revival and faith streaming from the presence of the Lord (verse 19, v. 31), Messiah's home is heaven, where he is seated 'at the right hand of God' (vii. 56) awaiting the subdual of rebellion in his own people, Israel. Then will he return and make Israel the nucleus of his Kingdom on earth' (cf. i. 6), whilst he

receive until the times of restoration of all things, whereof
God spake by the mouth of his holy prophets which
22 have been since the world began. Moses indeed said,
A prophet shall the Lord God raise up unto you from
among your brethren, like unto me; to him shall ye
hearken in all things whatsoever he shall speak unto you.

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prosecutes the further work of subduing humanity at large, and even the forces of evil and death in Nature, to the Divine will (see 1 Cor. xv. 24 ff.). This latter epoch is here alluded to in the phrase 'times of restoration of all things,' in which should be established that perfect order of things painted in poetic imagery in O. T. prophecy, and upon which Jewish apocalyptic writings outside the Canon, as well as certain Rabbis, loved to dwell. It is of this epoch, under the suggestive name 'the Regeneration,' that we read in Matt. xix. 28, 'when the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.' In the N. T. the emphasis falls on the spiritual renovation of human life, through the medium of a Chosen People; yet a corresponding renewal of the material order, as pictured in Isa. lxv. 17–25, is still the background of the consummated glory of the spiritual order (Rom. viii. 19–21; Rev. xxi. 5; 2 Pet. iii. 13). When the disciples asked their Master touching the official Jewish doctrine that Elijah should, as forerunner of Messiah (Mal. iv. 5), 'restore all things' in Israel, he treated this as essentially fulfilled in the moral reformation of John the Baptist (Matt. xvii. 11; Mark ix. 12). What bearing this has upon the 'Restoration of all things' (primarily at least in Israel, as in i. 6, but perhaps embracing the whole world of men and things), as here contemplated, it is not easy to determine.

whereof God spake, &c. Practically the same sentence occurs in Luke i. 70, in relation to the salvation provided of God 'in the house of His servant David.' How loosely these words were to be understood, appears from the citation from Deut. xviii. 15, which deals simply with the coming of a Prophet greater than Moses. The reference then is to the Messianic Age as such, without regard to details. Peter regards this Messianic Age as already dawning (cf. 'these days,' verse 24), in the Pentecostal outpouring of the Spirit and the preparedness of the Christian nucleus of a future Israel. Yet its actual realization waits on such a degree of preparedness in Israel as a whole (through hoped-for 'seasons of revival,' after the pattern of Pentecost), as shall warrant Messiah's manifestation in person. Till then the Messianic Age proper, with its 'restoration of all things,' is yet something future.

And it shall be, that every soul, which shall not hearken 23
to that prophet, shall be utterly destroyed from among
the people. Yea and all the prophets from Samuel and 24
them that followed after, as many as have spoken, they also
told of these days. Ye are the sons of the prophets, and 25
of the covenant which God made with your fathers, say-
ing unto Abraham, And in thy seed shall all the families
of the earth be blessed. Unto you first God, having 26
raised up his Servant, sent him to bless you, in turning
away every one of you from your iniquities.

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25. Ye, like 'unto you' in the next verse, is emphatic. His hearers were those primarily entitled to share in the Messianic Kingdom, secured to Abraham's seed by covenant (Gen. xii. 1-3, xxii. 18). It were a pity indeed, should they suffer prejudice to rob them of their special birthright, as 'sons of the prophets and of the Covenant,' to share first in a blessing which was to come in and through Abraham's seed, but was so Divinely great as to embrace all mankind. The appeal is made more explicit in the next verse.

26. Unto you first (= in the first instance) **God, having raised up** (in the sense of verse 22, not of resurrection) **his Servant** (cf. verse 13), **sent him to bless you** (in fulfilment of the promise in verse 25), **in turning away every one of you from your iniquities** (see Rom. xi. 26). Having referred to the words of promise which set forth the Messianic blessing in its most universal scope, Peter enforces the special claim Jesus the Messiah had upon his hearers, as those to whom God had given the first chance of embracing the Messianic Salvation. Messiah's attitude of 'blessing' his people, by turning them from their iniquities' (cf. Matt. i. 21), had marked Jesus during his earthly ministry, and still marked him, Peter implies, in his glorified state at the Father's right hand (see v. 31). Of course the words, 'unto you *first*,' imply that those who were not 'sons of the Covenant' would *ultimately* share in the blessings of Messiah's kingdom. But this was inherent in the promise cited, and was expected by Jews in general, however little stress they may have laid on it, or however they may have interpreted it as to be fulfilled simply in the 'blessing' of Jewish rule over mankind. Peter and his associates no doubt took the promise in a more gracious sense, as implying a large ingathering of Gentiles, as proselytes, into renewed or Messianic Israel. Then should be fulfilled the words of Isa. lx. 3, 'And nations shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising' (see ii. 39 and

4 And as they spake unto the people, the priests and the captain of the temple and the Sadducees came upon

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note). But that the Gentiles should enter in greater numbers than the Jews, and even on terms that took no account of Jewish nationality and its privileges (involved in circumcision, the condition of full status as a proselyte in Israel)—of this neither Peter nor any other apostle had as yet any inkling. How they were led, under the Divine guidance, to further truth on these momentous matters, it is one of the aims of Acts to relate. Meantime we observe that there was in the Abrahamic promise the *form* of universal blessing, capable of adaptation to various and progressive interpretations. 'To the Jew first, and also to the Greek' is the formula of both Peter and Paul (Rom. i. 16, ii. 9, 10), though with different emphasis and fullness of meaning, especially in Peter's earlier ministry.

iv. 1–4. *Interference of the authorities: a great impression already made.*

1. And as they spake. This implies (1) that John as well as Peter addressed the people, and that the summary in iii. 12–26 professes only to give the substance of what was said at much greater length by one or the other, (2) that they were interrupted while yet addressing the people.

the priests and the captain of the temple and the Sadducees: whether we read 'priests' or 'chief priests' (as in the marg.; cf. 6, 23, xix. 14), the meaning is the same; namely, that the temple authorities, at this time the leaders of the Sadducæan party in Jewish religion and politics, interfered with a propaganda which they felt was beginning to go beyond the bounds of safety and becoming a really popular movement. This suited neither their religious beliefs nor their political ideals, which were those of an aristocracy, in possession of such power as Rome allowed to the native authorities in Judæa. The latter aspect of the case, as leading to the more practical consequences, probably appealed to them with the greater urgency. For Messianic enthusiasm meant breach with Rome and the upset of the existing order which they represented. The 'captain of the temple,' himself a priest and second in dignity only to the high-priest for the time being, was the superintendent of the temple-guard, consisting of Levites divided into a number of bands, each under its own captain, who were on duty by turns. Hence we read in Luke xxii. 4 of 'the chief priests and captains' approached by Judas—a passage favouring the reading 'chief priests' here (cf. Luke xx. 1). The term seems to have been used popularly to include not only ex-high-priests, but also other leading representatives of the priesthood, such as the heads of the twenty-

them, being sore troubled because they taught the people, 2
and proclaimed in Jesus the resurrection from the dead.
And they laid hands on them, and put them in ward 3
unto the morrow: for it was now eventide. But many 4
of them that heard the word believed; and the number
of the men came to be about five thousand.

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four courses of priests (Luke i. 5), or members of the high-priestly clan (see verse 6). The addition of 'the Sadducees' in this verse may be due partly to the fact that the high-priestly leaders were joined by some of their followers, but partly also to a wish to indicate the religious bias (Luke xx. 27) of those who were so upset by the apostles' preaching as to interfere actively with what was going on in the place of which they had special charge.

2. They were incensed at the fact that men whom they would regard as crude religious demagogues were haranguing the people at all within the precincts sacred to official religion, but still more by what they gathered of the preaching itself. The claim that resurrection from the dead had actually taken place, and that quite recently and in Jerusalem, in the person of Jesus—one whom they had helped to bring to the cross as a religious fanatic—was intolerable. It was bad enough to have ignorant men preaching under their very eyes a doctrine which they resisted (as unwarranted by the written Law of Moses), even when it was asserted by theological experts of the Pharisaic party. But to have it proclaimed, not as an abstract belief, but as a fact put beyond question in a concrete case—and that by men of the people, face to face with the people—was something far worse. It was fraught with imminent danger. For this 'risen' Jesus was held by his adherents to have been thereby proved to be after all the Messiah, and no impostor. But such a belief, if it become general, seemed to spell 'revolt from Rome,' Roman rule being inconsistent with that of the Messiah of popular expectation (cf. v. 36 f., xxi. 38). And a Messianic uprising, with all the severity and further restriction of native authority which it involved, was the thing they most dreaded. Hence *this kind* of preaching of Resurrection seemed, even to men not generally intolerant of doctrinal differences, a thing to be stopped at any cost.

4. the number of the men came to be about five thousand: i. e. exclusive of women (who are expressly referred to in v. 14). The apostolic appeal to facts, as the fulfilment of cherished prophecies, was essentially one to reach the popular heart; and it is not surprising that so considerable a response should already have been made, even though we suppose that the Messianic society had been in evidence only a few weeks or months. Its

5 And it came to pass on the morrow, that their rulers
and elders and scribes were gathered together in Jeru-
6 salem; and Annas the high priest *was there*, and
Caiaphas, and John, and Alexander, and as many as were
7 of the kindred of the high priest. And when they

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numbers would not attract much attention for some time, since in their devotions in the temple there would be nothing to mark Christians off from other worshippers.

First official challenge; defence; apostolic constancy; Divine approval. iv. 5-31.

iv. 5-22. *Peter and John before the Jewish authorities.*

5. rulers: i. e. the chief priests of verse 1: cf. verses 6, 23.

elders: men of good standing, but of no special profession.

scribes: *lit.* 'writers' of the Law, professional expounders of the sacred Law which regulated the whole life of a Jew, and so experts in the law administered in the Sanhedrin, which was the supreme court of Judaism, both in civil and criminal cases. Hence they were also called 'lawyers,' as in Luke v. 17, vii. 30, where they are coupled with the Pharisees, whose tenets they supported (cf. the phrase, 'the scribes of the Pharisees,' Mark ii. 16; Luke v. 30).

Thus the Sanhedrin represented office, practical experience, and legal learning, as these existed in Judaism. The present gathering, however, was one got together on the spur of the moment, and may not have included all its members, some of whom might live at a distance from Jerusalem and come in only to its stated meetings. Perhaps the addition of the words 'in Jerusalem' after 'were gathered together' is meant to indicate that this was the case.

6. Annas the high priest. He had been in office in A. D. 7-14, but had been deposed by the Roman governor. Yet 'once a high-priest, always a high-priest,' was the feeling of the Jews, at any rate as regards one deposed by the alien. Hence he retained the pre-eminence of honour and influence which is reflected in this passage, the more so that Caiaphas, the actual high-priest at this time (A. D. 25-37), was his son-in-law. Indeed Annas' family formed a sort of high-priestly clique, two sons of his successively holding the office, after Caiaphas was deposed in A. D. 37. There is no sign that Annas, rather than Caiaphas, presided formally at the meeting in question.

and John, and Alexander. The mention of such names points to early and excellent information (e. g. when Luke was in Jerusalem and Cæsarea with Paul, about A. D. 56).

had set them in the midst, they inquired, By what power,
or in what name, have ye done this? Then Peter, filled 8
with the Holy Ghost, said unto them, Ye rulers of the
people, and elders, if we this day are examined con- 9
cerning a good deed done to an impotent man, by what
means this man is made whole; be it known unto you 10
all, and to all the people of Israel, that in the name of
Jesus Christ of Nazareth, whom ye crucified, whom God
raised from the dead, *even* in him doth this man stand
here before you whole. He is the stone which was set 11

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7. By what power, or in what name. Here the word for 'power' is not that better rendered 'authority' (e. g. Matt. xxviii. 18). Accordingly the question veils an attempt to bring the apostles to admit the use of some magical name or formula of incantation (instances of which among the Jews of that age are known, cf. xix. 13), which might be construed as a violation of Deut. xiii. 1–5 or of some part of the traditional law then in use.

8. filled with the Holy Ghost. Compare the promise in Luke xii. 11 f., 'the Holy Spirit shall teach you in that very hour what ye ought to say.' As to the phrase itself, 'filled with Holy Spirit' (or 'holy spirit'), see ii. 4. It here refers to a marked manifestation of Divinely inspired power, such as was conceived to abide more or less quiescent in the individual in between special crises. Then it 'filled' him according to the measure of the need or the work to be done: cf. xiii. 9. Such temporary 'filling' is to be distinguished from the habitual fullness of Holy Spirit predicated of the Seven in vi. 3, cf. vii. 55, and of Barnabas, xi. 24, and doubtless conceived to belong to the apostles and other gifted men among the early Christians. The latter meant that tokens of the Spirit's indwelling were constantly striking observers. Both phrases, however, are, like most N. T. expressions, highly experimental in cast and belong to the language of the popular religious consciousness, as is natural when we consider the humble station of the mass of early Christians. The particular phrase, 'to be filled with Holy Spirit,' is peculiar to Luke, viz. his Gospel, i. 15, 41, 67; Acts ii. 4, iv. 31, ix. 17, xiii. 9.

9. this man: pointing to the late cripple, whose presence, as evidence in the case, is presupposed in verse 14.

11. He is the stone, &c. This very passage from Ps. cxviii. was quoted by Jesus himself, in response to the challenge of his right to teach in the temple made by certain of 'the chief priests

at nought of you the builders, which was made the head
12 of the corner. And in none other is there salvation:
for neither is there any other name under heaven, that is
given among men, wherein we must be saved.
13 Now when they beheld the boldness of Peter and
John, and had perceived that they were unlearned and
ignorant men, they marvelled; and they took knowledge
14 of them, that they had been with Jesus. And seeing

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and the scribes, with the elders,' Luke xx. 1, 17; and it was probably read in a Messianic sense by the Jewish teachers of that day. It recurs in 1 Pet. ii. 7: but the exact wording in Acts is peculiar, the word for 'set at nought' being found only here, and not in the LXX of Ps. cxviii. 22 (cf. Luke xviii. 9, xxiii. 11. and several cases in the LXX and in Paul). The form of the quotation, then, is due to Luke or to his authority.

the head of the corner. Not, it seems, that immediately supporting the roof where two walls meet, but rather, in keeping with the meaning of the Hebrew in the Psalm (cf. Isa. xxviii. 16, quoted in 1 Pet. ii. 6 in conjunction with Ps. cxviii. 22 and Job xxxviii. 6), the corner foundation-stone so vital to the stability of the building. It is this fundamental position which Messiah fills in the spiritual temple of God, the Messianic Kingdom.

12. salvation: rather, 'the salvation,' viz. the Messianic deliverance of Israel from all her foes, outward and inward, for which the nation as a whole was looking: see Luke i. 69, 71, 74, 77. This is borne out, as the primary meaning, by the statement that Jesus, and none other, is the personality or 'name' of authority whereby '*we* (Jews) must be saved' (in the above sense). The position of 'we,' as the last word in the Greek, is too emphatic for it to mean simply 'we men,' mankind at large.

13. Now when they beheld. The exact shades of meaning in this verse may be brought out thus: 'Now as they contemplated (as the defence proceeded) the frankness of speech of Peter and John, and perceived at a glance that they were men of no learning or training (i. e. in the technical study of the Law), they began to wonder (at the simple but telling force of their argument), and to take notice of the circumstance that they had been in the society of Jesus,' who himself, though 'unlearned,' had shown such bold and forceful originality before them. The unusual quality of these plain men set them thinking, and they found a clue in what they remembered of the strange power of their Master, the artisan Prophet of Nazareth. They were what they were, because they had been his companions.

the man which was healed standing with them, they could say nothing against it. But when they had 15
commanded them to go aside out of the council, they conferred among themselves, saying, What shall we do 16
to these men? for that indeed a notable miracle hath been wrought through them, is manifest to all that dwell in Jerusalem; and we cannot deny it. But that it spread 17
no further among the people, let us threaten them, that they speak henceforth to no man in this name. And 18
they called them, and charged them not to speak at all nor teach in the name of Jesus. But Peter and John 19
answered and said unto them, Whether it be right in the

16, 17. For the attitude of the authorities, especially their fear of a breach with the people as a restraining element in their counsels here and in chap. v, cf. Luke xx. 1-8, xxi. 37—xxii. 2.

17. that it spread no further among the people. Here comes out afresh the motive which made them intervene at all, the fear lest a popular Messianic movement should arise, with all the bloodshed and confusion which similar attempts at 'salvation' from the Roman yoke had entailed. True they had no adequate alternative theory for what the apostles alleged, but they were 'practical men,' and the main thing was to avoid the certain danger they foresaw in the continuance of such preaching. A 'hush up' policy always presents itself as the highest wisdom to opportunists and placemen, where the existing order seems threatened. So without attempting to thrash out the question of fact, they thought to close the incident with a formal warning. This might have the desired effect, as coming from so august a body; and, at the worst, it would enable them to proceed more summarily next time without shocking public opinion, should these men be rash enough to prove contumacious. They were mistaken. In one particular only do the apostles seem to have complied with their wishes, and this more by accident than by their own intention. For, owing to the shyness of the people about transgressing the wishes of the chief priests in their own sacred domain, the temple area, we hear no more for awhile (see v. 20, 25) of public preaching 'in Solomon's portico,' though the Christians still met here, as before.

19. How heartening an example would this be for those who were hesitating, for fear of persecution, when Acts was written!

sight of God to hearken unto you rather than unto God,
20 judge ye: for we cannot but speak the things which
21 we saw and heard. And they, when they had further threatened them, let them go, finding nothing how they might punish them, because of the people; for all men
22 glorified God for that which was done. For the man was more than forty years old, on whom this miracle of healing was wrought.
23 And being let go, they came to their own company, and reported all that the chief priests and the elders had
24 said unto them. And they, when they heard it, lifted up their voice to God with one accord, and said, O Lord, thou

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It has been an inspiration and rallying-call to conscience for untold generations since that day.

21. when they had further threatened them. How genuine a touch! It is most natural as a stage in an actual episode, as living in a man's memory, but one likely to be overlooked by any one describing a long-past story out of his own imagination. Indeed all the elements in the situation depicted in this and the next verse hang together with great verisimilitude. This applies, for instance, to the mention of the lame man's age, as in Luke xiii. 11 (the woman infirm for eighteen years), and in Acts ix. 33 (Æneas bed-ridden for eight years).

iv. 23-31. *The church's appeal to God in prayer: its issue.*

23. to their own company. Probably the inner circle of original disciples referred to in i. 15. Notice the 'all' in verse 31.

24. O Lord: rather, 'O Sovereign Lord.' The word rendered 'Lord' is not the usual one, but a stronger one denoting absolute ownership, *despŏtēs*, whence our 'despot.' It occurs in Simeon's prayer in Luke ii. 29, where its correlative is 'thy bondservant,' as here in verse 29. It suggests faith's reliance on the absolute sovereignty of God, so that none can really resist His will; cf. Rev. vi. 10, 'How long, O Master, the holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?' The word is rare in the N. T., but is found in the Hellenistic writing known as *Wisdom* (xi. 26), in the beautiful phrase, 'O Master, thou lover of souls'; also in the early Jewish Christian prayers embedded in the *Didaché* (x. 3), 'Thou, Master almighty, madest all things for Thy name's sake.' Indeed the likeness between these prayers and the early speeches in Acts, is such as to point to origin under kindred conditions: see under iii. 13.

that didst make the heaven and the earth and the sea,
and all that in them is: who by the Holy Ghost, *by* the 25
mouth of our father David thy servant, didst say,

Why did the Gentiles rage,
And the peoples imagine vain things?
The kings of the earth set themselves in array, 26
And the rulers were gathered together,
Against the Lord, and against his Anointed:

for of a truth in this city against thy holy Servant Jesus, 27
whom thou didst anoint, both Herod and Pontius Pilate,
with the Gentiles and the peoples of Israel, were gathered
together, to do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel 28
foreordained to come to pass. And now, Lord, look 29
upon their threatenings: and grant unto thy servants to
speak thy word with all boldness, while thou stretchest 30
forth thy hand to heal; and that signs and wonders may

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thou that didst make, &c. A favourite O. T. sentiment, expressed in the very words of Ps. cxlvi. 6; cf. Exod. xx. 11; 2 Chron. ii. 12; Neh. ix. 6; Ps. cii. 25; and *Did.* x. 3.

25. who by the Holy Ghost, by the mouth, &c. The clear sense of a passage very variously worded in different groups of authorities.

27. thy holy Servant Jesus. See notes on iii. 13 f.

whom thou didst anoint: i. e. as Messianic king, at the Baptism; cf. x. 38.

both Herod and Pontius Pilate: as in Luke xxiii. 7–12 only.

the peoples of Israel. A rather loose phrase, due to adoption of the very word used in the quotation (verse 25): here probably meant for the tribes of Israel.

28. For the idea of the verse, cf. iii. 18, also Luke i. 66; Acts xi. 21.

30. while thou stretchest forth thy hand to heal, &c. The apostles' positive idea of the rationale of healing through their agency: cf. iii. 12 for the negative side of the same.

and that signs and wonders may be done: see v. 12. This clause perhaps should go more closely with the other than the R. V. indicates, thus—'that healing and signs and wonders may take place.' For this use of 'healing,' see 22; Luke xiii. 32.

be done through the name of thy holy Servant Jesus.
31 And when they had prayed, the place was shaken wherein they were gathered together; and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and they spake the word of God with boldness.
32 And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and soul: and not one *of them* said that aught of the things which he possessed was his own; but they
33 had all things common. And with great power gave the

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31. were all filled with the Holy Ghost: see on ii. 4, iv. 8. This was a temporary manifestation of Holy Spirit uplifting, felt to be an answer to their prayer and a token of its further fulfilment. Hence the sequel, 'and they went on speaking (imperfect tense) the word with boldness' (cf. verse 29).

Second summary, with illustrations, touching the condition of the growing community and its popularity. iv. 32—v. 16.

Our author, having shown the resolute spirit of the inner circle, now describes the temper of the believers, as a body, after the lapse of some time since the former summary (ii. 44-47). How long the interval was we cannot say. But one hardly gets from the narrative itself the idea that it was one of years rather than months—though of course Luke himself may have had no means of measuring the period when he wrote. Those who suppose an interval of several years between Pentecost and the events of chap. vi, which lead on pretty directly to the crisis created by Stephen's prominence, and so to Paul's conversion, rely upon the numbers of the Christians even as early as iv. 4, v. 14, and the opposition which the authorities thought the movement to merit. But all this is precarious, when we remember the exuberant life working among the Christians and the susceptible nature of a people already permeated by Messianic hopes. Rather, the clash described in this chapter was bound to come soon.

iv. 32-37. *The Divine life of the Christians: Barnabas.*

32. the multitude: rather, 'community,' according to a use of the word (*plēthos*) in ancient religious associations (Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, 232 f.): so also in vi. 2, 5, xv. 12, 30, xix. 9, xxi. 22.

they had all things common: i.e. in the sense already set forth in the preceding words—none *said* or felt that aught of the things which he actually possessed was his own, to use for himself rather than the neighbour he loved as himself: cf. ii. 44 f. Each

apostles their witness of the resurrection of the Lord Jesus: and great grace was upon them all. For neither 34
was there among them any that lacked: for as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and

used his own possessions as a trust held of God for all. The giving over of property outright, to form a central fund, was a further step (see below, on verse 34). Thus there was no 'communistic system' in the community, but a higher thing, the reign in the individual of practical Christianity, which is the treating of all spiritual brothers as if brothers in blood as well as in spirit. Plato's dream of the perfect State in which the citizens put 'mine' and 'thine' on the same level, was realized, for a season, by adequate spiritual motives. The result was that not a single soul was in actual want (verse 34). 'Their feeling was just as if they were under the paternal roof, all for awhile sharing alike' (Chrysostom). Those who have learnt to realize the spirit of the early followers of Francis of Assisi, both such as remained at their ordinary avocations but lived 'in great charity,' and such as sold all and became regular 'Brothers Minor,' will have but little difficulty in conceiving the situation. And there are other, if less well-known, instances of like enthusiastic self-forgetfulness known to Christian history. All such object-lessons have been transient, to be read in the spirit rather than the letter, since they have been too simple-minded to yield a basis for economic relations in a permanent, mixed society. As it was, the improvident expenditure of goods in alms within the Jerusalem community, finds at once its explanation and justification in their expectation of the speedy close of the existing order, at the return of Messiah.

33. As the rank and file did their duty to the full, so the special witnesses, the apostles, 'continued duly to render' the message entrusted to them, touching their Master's resurrection. The order of the Greek in the best MSS. suggests the rendering 'the apostles of the Lord Jesus,' rather than 'the resurrection of the Lord Jesus.' If this be so, the phrase points to an early date, before 'the apostles' had become a stereotyped phrase. Otherwise, the object of the peculiar order is to suggest first the general scope of witness, the Lord Jesus ('my witnesses,' i. 8), and then its prime feature, his resurrection ('a witness touching the resurrection,' i. 22).

and great grace was upon them all. It is of the tokens of Divine grace at work in the believers as a body, that our author is chiefly thinking, to judge from his next words, which seem meant to emphasize the special grace visible in certain believers, possessors of real property in 'lands or houses.'

34. for as many as were possessors. It is sometimes assumed

35 brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid
them at the apostles' feet: and distribution was made
unto each, according as any one had need.
36 And Joseph, who by the apostles was surnamed
Barnabas (which is, being interpreted, Son of exhortation),

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that this account 'comprehensively records the sale of all lands and houses' (Schmiedel, *Encycl. Bibl.* i. col. 877). But while the phrase 'as many as' might, if pressed literally, seem to imply this, it need not be so pressed: and for two reasons. First, the compiler of Acts cannot have so meant it (in view of what follows immediately, shewing that such sale was not universal); and he knew what he was writing, even though it came from a written source. Secondly, the imperfect tenses, which follow, help to qualify the universality of the phrase. Certainly it is not said that all such owners sold up their property in one moment of contagious enthusiasm. Rather, every now and then, as need arose, one and another came forward and put the proceeds of his property at the disposal of the leaders of the community, for the relief of those whose wants were not met by private beneficence. This suggests that at a given stage it became evident that certain needy persons were being overlooked, in spite of the general brotherliness abroad among the brethren, and that some system must be devised for meeting such cases. Thus arose a common fund, which was naturally administered by the apostles as the trusted heads of the community. This step was important, both as giving an appearance of organization to the Messianic people (though the method of raising funds was such as implied expectation of the speedy end of the existing order), and as leading a little later (chap. vi) to the growth of a special class of officials.

36 f. This case is given, partly because it was a notable one (perhaps as one which set the example; cf. the surname, if relative to this act), and partly to preface with a typical instance the terrible case of abuse which follows; for both bear on the Spirit-possessed life of the early community.

Barnabas (which is, . . ., Son of exhortation): or 'of consolation,' the usual meaning of the term in Luke's writings (Luke ii. 25, vi. 24; Acts ix. 31, xv. 31; though in Acts xiii. 15 it seems to be otherwise, while in xi. 23 the verb is used of Barnabas in the sense of 'exhort'). Such a rendering makes the reference to the surname all of a piece with the matter in hand, if we suppose the apostles (cf. 35) signalized Joseph's exemplary love by hailing him a veritable 'son of comfort' for the needy. All we know of 'Barnabas' points to his excellence of heart (e. g. ix. 27, xi. 24, where he is called 'a good-hearted man'), rather than his eloquence

a Levite, a man of Cyprus by race, having a field, sold 37
it, and brought the money, and laid it at the apostles' feet.
But a certain man named Ananias, with Sapphira his 5

(in which Paul was notably his superior, xiii. 12). Yet he had a certain gift of kindly exhortation, implied in xi. 23, and even 'prophecy' (xiii. 1), which might win him the surname in the sense favoured by the R.V. It is true that the correct etymology of 'Barnabas' seems quite different from the popular one which Luke here gives. But this is of small moment for the history.

a Levite, a man of Cyprus by race: that is, he was a Hellenist or Jew of Greek training in some degree, as having been born in Cyprus, though of Levitic family. He had thus points of contact with Saul of Tarsus (cf. ix. 27), and a certain native fitness for the work which brings him to the front in xi. 20, 23.

37. having a field. By this time the prohibition against Levites holding land (Num. xviii. 20) had fallen into abeyance (if ever understood to preclude all holding of land, cf. Jer. xxxii. 7-12); for Josephus, a Levite and priest, had lands near Jerusalem (*Life*, 76). And even had such a rule applied to Levites in Palestine, it would not apply to them outside the Holy Land.

v. 1-11. *The tragedy of Ananias and his wife.* The Divine nature of the power at work in the new community is further brought out by a startling episode. The sin of Ananias lay in the thought of 'cheating the Holy Spirit' or 'lying to God,' in attempting to win a name for more absolute devotion to God than really possessed him—in fact, 'to serve two masters.' It was lying to God, before it was lying to man. Hence there seems to be no aim in the narrative to magnify the apostles in the matter, as if it were the Holy Spirit in them alone or in particular that was outraged. Nor is there proof that Peter invoked Divine judgement on Ananias. The actual penalty may well have surprised and awed him like as the rest. Naturally, however, once it had fallen on the husband, he may well have anticipated it in the case of the wife also (v. 9). The whole narrative has been called a mere 'moral apologue,' setting forth as fact the certainty of judgement on high-handed trifling with the Divine, as manifest in Messiah's people. But the mention of names, and names with no special point (as cause or effect of the story itself), suggests a genuine basis in fact. That deaths should result from sudden and solemn exposure of deceit in such a connexion, has analogy to support it.

1. Ananias = the Hananiah ('Jehovah has been gracious') of Dan. i. 6; cf. Jer. xxviii 1.

2 wife, sold a possession, and kept back *part* of the price,
his wife also being privy to it, and brought a certain part,
3 and laid it at the apostles' feet. But Peter said, Ananias,
why hath Satan filled thy heart to lie to the Holy Ghost,
4 and to keep back *part* of the price of the land? Whiles
it remained, did it not remain thine own? and after it
was sold, was it not in thy power? How is it that thou
hast conceived this thing in thy heart? thou hast not
5 lied unto men, but unto God. And Ananias hearing
these words fell down and gave up the ghost: and great
6 fear came upon all that heard it. And the young men
arose and wrapped him round, and they carried him out
and buried him.
7 And it was about the space of three hours after, when
8 his wife, not knowing what was done, came in. And

Sapphira = either (1) 'a sapphire' (Rev. xxi. 19), or (2) Aramaic for 'beautiful.' Neither seems a name 'with a purpose.'

3. to lie to the Holy Ghost: rather, 'to (try to) cheat.' This is what hypocrisy always involves; but in this case the presence of the Holy Spirit in the community was so manifest that the sin was exceptionally gross or 'high-handed,' and must have been so felt by Ananias when brought home to him by Peter's words. It was indeed to 'tempt' or 'try' the Spirit of the Lord (v. 9); and the more so, if the presentation was made with some publicity and solemnity in a meeting of the brethren: see under verse 6.

4. This verse affords proof that there was no sort of compulsion to dispose of one's property for the common good.

5. gave up the ghost. The word for 'expired' here used is a rare one (10, xii. 23), save in medical writers; and is one of those supporting the view that the author of Acts was a physician.

6. the young men: *lit.* 'the younger men' or 'juniors' in contrast to 'seniors,' as in ii. 17; 1 Tim. v. 1; 1 Pet. v. 5. The distinction is one which largely affected early church organization, positions of trust and responsibility falling to seniors, those involving active hard work, to juniors.

wrapped him round: rather, 'composed his limbs,' to carry him forth. It seems as though the episode occurred in some sort of religious assembly.

7. about the space of three hours after. Another circumstantial detail.

Peter answered unto her, Tell me whether ye sold the land for so much. And she said, Yea, for so much. But 9
Peter *said* unto her, How is it that ye have agreed together to tempt the Spirit of the Lord? behold, the feet of them which have buried thy husband are at the door, and they shall carry thee out. And she fell down im- 10
mediately at his feet, and gave up the ghost: and the young men came in and found her dead, and they carried her out and buried her by her husband. And great fear came upon 11
the whole church, and upon all that heard these things.

And by the hands of the apostles were many signs and 12
wonders wrought among the people; and they were all with one accord in Solomon's porch. But of the rest 13

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8. answered: i. e. her state of mind, if not some inquiry of hers; cf. iii. 12.

9. agreed together. Such agreement enhanced the deliberateness of the act, and so its guilt.

11. great fear. An awful sense of the Spirit in their midst as 'holy,' 'by no means clearing the guilty,' is here represented as the prime effect (and so intent) of the stern penalty on those who had 'done despite unto the Spirit of grace' (cf. Heb. x. 29). It was essentially exemplary.

the whole church. The first use in Acts of the term 'church' (*ecclēsia*) for the body of believers. Some see special significance in its appearing here and now, as if it pointed to the growing consolidation and corporate character of the brethren. But it seems rather to be used instinctively (by Luke himself) where contrast with 'those without' is in mind. For its sense, see vii. 38, viii. 1.

v. 12-16. *Further growth in popular esteem* (*in continuation of* iv. 32-35). The whole leads up to a second and more drastic stage of official opposition, v. 17 ff. A special feature is the extension of influence to the vicinity of Jerusalem. Just what the authorities feared, was taking place; and so fresh interference became inevitable.

12. they were all with one accord in Solomon's porch: i. e. the whole body of Christians (cf. the 'all' in iv. 33 f.) frequented the meeting-place already hallowed to them by associations (see iii. 11), in spite of the jealousy of the temple authorities.

13. But of the rest durst no man join himself to them.

durst no man join himself to them: howbeit the people
14 magnified them; and believers were the more added to
15 the Lord, multitudes both of men and women; insomuch that they even carried out the sick into the streets, and laid them on beds and couches, that, as Peter came by, at the least his shadow might overshadow some one of
16 them. And there also came together the multitude from the cities round about Jerusalem, bringing sick folk, and them that were vexed with unclean spirits: and they were healed every one.

The meaning of 'the rest' depends on its relation to 'the people' in the clause following. It is best to take it as more comprehensive than the latter, as denoting all outside the church; in which case 'the people' are the humbler orders, who, while not daring to brave the wrath of their rulers, yet admire the Christians as led by the apostles, though from a safe distance. The 'joining' in question, means frequenting the company of the Christians in the publicity of Solomon's portico. For the next verse states that many were actually joining them in the more thorough sense.

15. beds and couches. The word for 'beds' is peculiar to Luke, and seems mainly a medical term for a sick-couch, perhaps having only a light wooden framework. The word rendered 'couch' occurs in the Gospels for a highly portable bed (Mark ii. 4 ff., vi. 55; John v. 9 f.), and probably denotes a 'camp-bed,' something little more than a mattress.

that, . . . at the least his shadow, &c. It is not said that this superstitious practice was followed by healing; and it might be argued that the custom is noted simply in proof of the popular confidence, even in crude forms. But the statement at the end of the next verse, that the sick and possessed brought in from the places round Jerusalem 'were healed every one,' points to the like as implied in the present connexion (cf. Mark v. 28 f., vi. 56, and the yet closer parallel in Acts xix. 12). The ultimate nature of such cures, however, remains an open question, upon which Luke, or rather his authorities, but represent the inferences drawn by Christian observers from such phenomena in terms of the medical knowledge of the time and place.

vexed: rather, 'oppressed,' 'tormented,' according to the older and stronger meaning of the word 'vex.'

But the high priest rose up, and all they that were 17
with him (which is the sect of the Sadducees), and they
were filled with jealousy, and laid hands on the apostles, 18
and put them in public ward. But an angel of the Lord 19
by night opened the prison doors, and brought them out,
and said, Go ye, and stand and speak in the temple to 20
the people all the words of this Life. And when they 21
heard *this*, they entered into the temple about daybreak,
and taught. But the high priest came, and they that
were with him, and called the council together, and all
the senate of the children of Israel, and sent to the

Renewed opposition: Gamaliel's speech.
v. 17–42.

The authorities were now thoroughly roused, not only by jealousy of the influence gained by such 'ignorant upstarts,' but also (we may be sure) by fear of its issuing in a Messianic rising against the Romans. They had already cautioned the leaders; now they prepared to take measures as severe as seemed needful to the end in view, in defiance of popular opinion. But though for a moment tempted to go to extremities, the Sanhedrin was led on second thoughts to stop short at scourging the accused and dismissing them with a reiterated warning.

17. the high priest: Caiaphas, who was in office till A.D. 37.

all they that were with him: i.e. the whole Sadducaic party (cf. iv. 1), attached to Annas and his family, and not only those named in iv. 6.

18. in public ward. It is hard to say whether a severer form of custody than in iv. 3 is here meant by the addition of 'public.' The severer intention of the authorities is evident.

20. the words of this Life. A primitive phrase, akin to the title 'Pioneer of Life' in iii. 15 : cf. 'the word of this salvation,' xiii. 26.

21. This teaching of the people in the temple is perhaps represented as a degree of boldness due to the Divine message just received (verse 20), in contrast to their own recent practice.

the council . . ., and all the senate of the children of Israel. These two expressions apparently represent the same court (namely, the Sanhedrin : cf. verses 27, 34), the latter being used, as a solemn O.T. phrase (cf. Exod. iv. 29), to call attention to the importance of the occasion (cf. xxv. 15).

22 prison-house to have them brought. But the officers
that came found them not in the prison; and they
23 returned, and told, saying, The prison-house we found
shut in all safety, and the keepers standing at the doors:
24 but when we had opened, we found no man within. Now
when the captain of the temple and the chief priests
heard these words, they were much perplexed concerning
25 them whereunto this would grow. And there came one
and told them, Behold, the men whom ye put in the
prison are in the temple standing and teaching the
26 people. Then went the captain with the officers, and
brought them, *but* without violence; for they feared the
27 people, lest they should be stoned. And when they had
brought them, they set them before the council. And
28 the high priest asked them, saying, We straitly charged
you not to teach in this name: and behold, ye have
filled Jerusalem with your teaching, and intend to bring

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24. the captain of the temple and the chief priests. See note on iv. 1.

whereunto this would grow: rather, 'what this could mean' (cf. x. 17), the 'words' of the officers having given no clue to the explanation of the facts they related.

26. they feared the people. This motive recurs again and again. A like distinction between the ruling classes and the common people appears in relation to Jesus himself, in Luke xix. 47 f., xxii. 1, 6. The humbler orders were deeply impressed by the tokens of Divine power and blessing among the Christians, especially the apostles; the more so, that Christian piety was of a type 'popular' in the best sense of the word. They were quite in the mood, then, to resent with violence any high-handed or extreme measures against men whom they esteemed at any rate saintly and friends of the people; while many must have been hesitating as to whether their Master, the prophet of Nazareth, might not after all be the Messiah.

28. We straitly charged. 'We strictly charged' represents 'We charged you with a charge,' an Hebraic form of emphasis.

ye have filled Jerusalem with your teaching. Just what they had been forbidden to do. The words which follow seem to show the growing fear of the rulers that the people might take

this man's blood upon us. But Peter and the apostles 29
answered and said, We must obey God rather than men.
The God of our fathers raised up Jesus, whom ye slew, 30
hanging him on a tree. Him did God exalt with his right 31
hand *to be* a Prince and a Saviour, for to give repentance
to Israel, and remission of sins. And we are witnesses 32
of these things; and *so is* the Holy Ghost, whom God
hath given to them that obey him.

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it into their heads to reverse the judgement on Jesus, holding them personally responsible for an act which many were coming to suspect to have been a national sin.

30. The God of our fathers raised up Jesus. To be taken in the same sense as iii. 26, 'God, having raised up His servant, sent him to bless you,' though the verb is not quite the same in the two cases. That here used does sometimes in Acts refer to the Resurrection; but has then some such words as 'from the dead' (iii. 15, iv. 10, cf. x. 40) to define it. On the other hand it has also the sense above given to it: see xiii. 22 f., and Luke i. 69, 'He hath raised up a horn of salvation for us in the house of His servant David.' This sense, viz. that the God of the fathers and the promises raised up Jesus as Messianic King, preserves the historic order, and avoids repetition in verse 31.

hanging him on a tree: as a felon and accursed (Deut. xxi. 23).

31. a Prince. Cf. Isa. lv. 4, 'Behold I have given him for a . . . Leader and Commander to the peoples.' For the thought of one who through suffering reaches the place of power, cf. Isa. lii. 13 f., liii. 11 f., and Acts ii. 36.

to give repentance to Israel, &c. The subject of this clause may be either God or His Messianic Prince. The former is supported by the analogy of xi. 18 (cf. Rom. ii. 4; 2 Tim. ii. 25); while for the general idea of repentance and forgiveness as wrought through Christ, iii. 26, Luke xxiv. 47 may be cited.

32. we are witnesses of these things. Cf. Luke xxiv. 48, 'ye are witnesses of these things.' The 'things' (*lit.* 'words,' a Hebraism: cf. x. 37; Luke ii. 15) = the Messianic salvation in all the aspects just alluded to.

and so is the Holy Ghost, &c. This is probably the correct reading (cf. xv. 28) rather than that in the margin. The thought is in any case akin to Luke xxiv. 49. This whole verse, with its stress on the apostolic witnesses and on the Holy Spirit as the secret of the life and power in believers, might be taken as the keynote of Acts.

33 But they, when they heard this, were cut to the heart,
34 and were minded to slay them. But there stood up one in
the council, a Pharisee, named Gamaliel, a doctor of the
law, had in honour of all the people, and commanded to
35 put the men forth a little while. And he said unto them,
Ye men of Israel, take heed to yourselves as touching

34. a Pharisee. The first reference in Acts to the religious class most typical of official Judaism in the Gospels—as in the Palestine of that date. It is noteworthy how little these zealots for the Law, oral as well as written, appear in the opposition to the followers of Jesus, when we contrast their prominence in the official campaign against Jesus himself. It means at any rate that the teaching and piety of the earliest Christians were after a more Jewish sort than marked their Master, and had little or no definite bearing upon Jewish legalism prior to the emergence of Stephen, as recorded in the next chapter. This being so, and their abstract views as to Messiah and the doctrine of a resurrection being in no way specially challenged by the Christians—save as to matters of fact touching Jesus of Nazareth—they were content to leave the Sadducaic leaders to do the work of repressing unauthorized and ignorant religious fanatics, such as the Christians would appear to them. We can even understand how, as time softened the scandal of the cross, and the orthodox piety of many of the Christians conciliated their conservative susceptibilities, certain of them could accept the Messiahship of Jesus as they understood it and him (xv. 5). But in these early days of offence and contempt attaching to the Name, it is unlikely that any but quite exceptional Pharisees did other than hold aloof, at best reserving their final judgement on a movement which had certain striking features about it.

Gamaliel. A name famous in Jewish Rabbinic tradition, and the master of Saul (xxii. 3)—who seems, like many another disciple, to have outrun his teacher in the vigour with which he carried out a certain side of his teaching to its logical issues.

a doctor of the law: an official teacher or Rabbi of the Mosaic Law, a 'lawyer' in the sense of an expounder of the authorized meaning of the sacred code which regulated Jewish life down to its minutest details (see the Scribes of iv. 5, and cf. Luke vii. 30; xi. 45 f., 52; xiv. 3). Gamaliel was so famous a Rabbi as to be one of the seven to whom the superior title Rabban is conceded by Rabbinic tradition. He belonged to what was on the whole the less bigoted school of Pharisaic legalism, that represented by his grandfather, Hillel, over against his rival Schammai.

these men, what ye are about to do. For before these 36
days rose up Theudas, giving himself out to be some-
body; to whom a number of men, about four hundred,
joined themselves: who was slain; and all, as many as
obeyed him, were dispersed, and came to nought. After 37
this man rose up Judas of Galilee in the days of the
enrolment, and drew away *some of the* people after him:
he also perished; and all, as many as obeyed him, were

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36. Theudas. The difficulty here is notorious. For the only Theudas otherwise known to us (Josephus, *Ant.* xx. 5. 1) arose about A. D. 44–45 under the rule of the Roman Procurator, Cuspius Fadus; whereas this man is represented as having lived some time before the date in question (A. D. 30–33). Hence the dilemma: either our narrative here rests on imperfect information, or there was another and earlier Theudas whose largely similar career Josephus fails to record. A third possibility, viz. that Josephus is wrong as to Theudas' date, is not to be entertained, as he had excellent means for being right on such a point and is quite explicit. On the other hand, he might omit to mention one of the many false Messiahs who, as he himself relates, abounded in the period before, as well as after, A. D. 30–33. Luke xiii. 1; Mark xv. 7; cf. Luke xxiii. 19, imply troubles under Pilate of which we have only the most casual knowledge. And it is an argument for the distinctness of the two uprisings, that Josephus makes his Theudas much more influential than the one in Acts; for he says that he led after him 'a very great multitude,' a phrase not to be satisfied by the 400 of Acts. Here the case must rest, until further light be forthcoming.

37. Here another and more serious problem awaits us, arising from the statement that *after* Theudas rose up Judas of Galilee. Now this Judas is well known as Judas the Gaulonite, of Gamala (Josephus, *Ant.* xviii. 1. 1 ff., cf. xx. 5, 2; *Jewish War*, ii. 8. 1), who appeared in the days of 'the Enrolment' under Quirinius, the great census of A. D. 6–8 (probably distinct from that alluded to in Luke ii. 1). Hence, if the reckoning in Acts be correct, its Theudas must have risen hardly later than the first years of our era. That is quite possible on the assumption that there were two men called Theudas (=Theodorus, a common enough name). But the suspicious feature lies here. Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 5. 1–2) happens to mention both Theudas and Judas of Galilee in one and the same context, and in this order—only referring to the latter *retrospectively* (as father of sons who perished in arms about the

38 scattered abroad. And now I say unto you, Refrain
from these men, and let them alone: for if this counsel
39 or this work be of men, it will be overthrown: but if it
is of God, ye will not be able to overthrow them; lest
40 haply ye be found even to be fighting against God. And
to him they agreed: and when they had called the

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same time as Theudas), and in a way consistent with his true date (A. D. 6–8). Hence it is argued that Acts here depends on Josephus, from whom its author borrows carelessly, as from a superficial perusal of the passage. This is plausible, but will hardly bear sifting. It involves a degree of carelessness which we have no right to attribute to our writer; while Acts is elsewhere so independent in its handling of topics common to it and Josephus (e. g. the death of Herod Agrippa, xii. 20–23), that its knowledge of the latter is most improbable.

Hence, as regards verses 36, 37, we may say that while inaccuracy as to the relative dates of Theudas and Judas is possible (though far from certain), it is improbable that Acts is here, or elsewhere, dependent on Josephus (see xxi. 38).

39. lest haply, &c. This follows awkwardly upon what immediately precedes; so much so, that Westcott and Hort prefer to make the words after 'let them alone' a parenthesis. Yet this again is awkward. Perhaps the clause really goes closely with what precedes, but as follows:—'But if it is really of God, ye will not be able to overthrow them—not to mention the further possibility of being found in opposition to God.' This gives full force to the contrast between fighting men and fighting God, involved in the 'even' before the word rendered 'fighting against God.' There has been much speculation as to Gamaliel's inner motives in thus intervening. Some think he spoke as a wise man of affairs, aware that 'fanaticism flourishes on martyrdom': and that his attitude was one of mere worldly policy. This would have befitted a Sadducee better than a Pharisee. Rather may one suppose him sufficiently impressed by what seemed the good elements of the movement, to be loath to condemn it outright and off-hand, instead of awaiting the verdict of Providence, in which he as a Pharisee honestly believed, and to which he appeals. That is, his mind was so far genuinely in suspense. Probably the development of the more revolutionary side of Christianity in relation to legal Judaism, which came to a head soon after in the person of Stephen, changed his attitude from suspense to hostility.

40. to him they agreed: i. e. the support which a leader of the Pharisees like Gamaliel would receive from his own party, as

apostles unto them, they beat them and charged them not to speak in the name of Jesus, and let them go. They therefore departed from the presence of the council, 41 rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer dishonour for the Name. And every day, in the temple 42 and at home, they ceased not to teach and to preach Jesus *as* the Christ.

Now in these days, when the number of the disciples 6

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well as from moderate men of other schools in the Sanhedrin, naturally ensured this (cf. Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 10. 6).

they beat them. The infliction of this penalty (for secondary misdemeanours) marks advance in the situation as compared with the former one in ch. iv. Defiance of a positive prohibition to preach or speak in the name of Jesus (iv. 18) added contumacy to what was in itself irregular or unauthorized teaching, especially in a place over which the religious authorities had special control. It was hoped, no doubt, that this humiliating (v. 41, cf. Deut. xxv. 3), if comparatively mild, treatment meted out by the supreme national court would hinder many from joining the offenders; and this was what the rulers had mainly at heart.

42. at home: a more private ministry, in contrast to that within the temple precincts (cf. ii. 46), and probably one carried on in various houses adapted for semi-private gatherings, to which inquirers could be brought by personal influence. Probably the lodgings of the apostles themselves would be chief among such places of conference: cf. also xii. 12.

The epoch of Stephen's ministry, issuing in persecution. vi. 1—viii. 3.

Ere very long the period of grudging official toleration was brought to an abrupt close through the emergence of the more radically spiritual side of the gospel, as realized by Stephen. In taking the bolder line in relation to the external or ritual aspects of Judaism, the temple and the Mosaic system of usages, he marked one stage in the extension of the gospel from Jerusalem to the end of the earth (i. 8)—from the inmost circle of Judaism to its ideal circumference, redeemed humanity. For Stephen was a 'Hellenist' and not a 'Hebrew' proper, as these terms were then used; he represented the Jew of Hellenic or Greek, that is Gentile, training and sympathies. Accordingly he was better able than the original apostles, Palestinian Jews (though of the less strict type found in Galilee), to feel from the first the larger spirituality of the gospel, as expounded in word

was multiplying, there arose a murmuring of the Grecian

and life by Jesus himself (cf. vi. 14). He saw more quickly the fulfilment, as to spiritual substance, provided in Jesus the Christ for Mosaism, and therewith the sublimation, into some higher form, of the religion which since Abraham's day had been passing through various changes. Now it was reaching its final phase, foreseen of God from the first and involved in the Messianic Hope. This is the drift and tendency of his unfinished apology before the Sanhedrin. It was one quite on the lines of certain of the O.T. prophets, but appeared to the representatives of a stereotyped Judaism—a religion of the letter, which made existing forms Divine and eternal—to be blasphemy. And so he shared the fate of his Master, and on similar grounds. How far he left behind, on friends and foes alike, abiding traces of his deeper insight, so that the intrinsic relations of Judaism and the gospel were more clearly perceived than heretofore, it is hard to say. Certain it is that he involved the whole Judæan Church in the storm of fierce wrath which broke upon himself. And we may imagine that the official leaders of Judaism welcomed the chance thus afforded of actively interfering, without fear of popular protest, with a movement the growth of which they had for some time been watching most jealously.

vi. 1–7. *The appointment of Stephen and others.*

1. Now in these days: a Lucan phrase (Luke vi. 12; Acts i. 15, xi. 27), indicating a date approximately. The narrative follows fairly closely in thought upon iv. 35.

when the number . . . was multiplying. One cause at least why a section of the community might be neglected. Another cause is noted under 'Grecian Jews.'

the disciples. This antique name for the Christians, found frequently in the Gospels but never in the Epistles, occurs here for the first time in Acts. It was a term redolent of the earthly ministry of Jesus, and was naturally adopted for a time to express the analogous spiritual relation of all Christians to their Master. But it was apt to be replaced by other terms, such as 'saints' and 'brethren,' descriptive of more obvious relations, namely, those to the Messianic kingdom and to fellow members in it. The former of these, 'saints,' seems indeed to have been confined for the most part to Jewish-Christian usage (see ix. 26, 30, xxi. 4, 7, 16 f.); the later, 'brethren,' came in time to prevail generally. 'Disciples,' then, may be regarded as characteristic of the apostolic rather than the sub-apostolic age; and its frequent occurrence in all parts of Acts, save i.–v.—including parts clearly due to its author's own pen, e. g. xi. 26, xviii. 23—tends to mark him as a man of the first generation rather than the second.

Jews against the Hebrews, because their widows were neglected in the daily ministration. And the twelve 2

Sometimes too, as in the present case, he may have caught it from the lips of his informant.

Grecian Jews: *lit.* 'Hellenists,' a word the form of which hints that the character described is one adopted and not native to the person bearing the name. To 'Hellenize' meant 'to copy or adopt Hellenic (Greek) ways,' just as 'Judaize' meant 'to adopt Jewish practices' (Gal. ii. 14). The term 'Hellenists' thus denotes Jews who used by preference the Greek language (with which generally went some tincture of Greek sentiments and habits), in contrast to 'Hebrews,' Jews habitually using the national tongue. Thus the distinction was one *within* Judaism; while 'Jew' and 'Greek' (*Hellēn*) expressed the contrast with those outside (Rom. i. 16).

because their widows were (being) neglected. It can readily be imagined that in Judæa and Jerusalem Jews of the less native type, even though it were but as to speech, were rather at a discount. We have already seen, in connexion with the day of Pentecost (ii. 5 ff.), that there was a body of Hellenists in Jerusalem itself, engaged in commerce or returned from life abroad. Among them, as more liberal in their Judaism, the gospel no doubt made a large proportion of converts. As Christians grew in numbers, it became easier for widows to be overlooked in the way here in question; for the widow's position in Eastern society is always one in the shade. But it would be so in a special degree with the widows of Hellenists, since they would have fewer friends and relations in Jerusalem than their fellows, and so be less known. It is, of course, possible that more than this lies behind the words 'were being overlooked,' and that something of the feeling between the two classes in Judæa generally was becoming felt within the Messianic community also. But this is mere inference; nor is it borne out by the cordial way in which steps were taken to remedy the defect.

in the daily ministration: i. e. of the church's alms, whether in money or in kind, arising out of the common fund described in iv. 34 f. The abrupt emergence of this allusive phrase suggests that it had become a familiar idea to Luke when in Palestine. It is interesting to gather that this work of relief was now so systematic as to take place daily. See further 'serve tables.'

2. the twelve: only here in Acts, though in ii. 14 (cf. i. 26) we have mention of 'the eleven.' Perhaps the virtual re-emergence of this antique phrase, after constant use of 'the apostles' in the intervening chapters, means dependence on the same authority (possibly a written one) in these two sections.

called the multitude of the disciples unto them, and said, It is not fit that we should forsake the word of God, and

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called the multitude, &c. Rather *the body* of the disciples, the rank and file, as contrasted with its leaders, a sense borne out by the word's use in inscriptions, touching religious corporations (Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, 232 f.: cf. xv. 12, xix. 9), and by Josephus, *Jewish War*, vii. 10. 1 (see note on xv. 41). The phrase affords indication of the essentially popular or fraternal nature of arrangements in the primitive community: cf. 'and the saying pleased the whole body.' But how, it may be asked, could a community as large as has been described (5000 *men*, in iv. 4) be thus consulted? Some regard this consideration as helping to prove that the numbers already given are arbitrary and due to admiring later tradition. But while this possibility cannot be excluded, it is surely needless to take the present phrase as meaning more than that 'the disciples' generally were invited to consider a matter touching the common good, and that *as a body* (see above) they met for counsel. This is what it must have meant to our author, too careful a writer not to observe so obvious a difficulty, and who uses the same word in xv. 12 of a meeting of the church in Jerusalem some twenty years after its birth, when it was clearly impossible for all its members to meet in assembly: see also the case of the Jewish 'body' at Alexandria, cited in note on xv. 41.

forsake the word of God, and serve tables. The Twelve deprecated the diversion of their energies from the ministry of the word in preaching and instruction, to take up the drudgery of actually supervising the church's every-day relief of its needy members. Though they were the original recipients of the common funds referred to in iv. 34 f., it does not follow that they took an active part in their distribution. They may have passed them on at once to others to manage. When, then, complaints reached their ears, they felt that, while something must be done to remedy the defect and command the confidence of all sections of the church, it was not for them to step in personally even to secure ends so important. Hence they resolved to put the administration of the fund on a frankly popular basis, by getting the body of the church itself to elect certain men of known character and of gifts adequate to their delicate task, to whom they might give the weight of their formal sanction. The fact, however, that the duty in question was being pressed upon the Twelve at all, taken along with the high qualifications demanded of the Seven, seems to cast light on the kind of work involved. It must have been responsible work, involving high character and insight. Accordingly 'to serve tables' can hardly mean the

serve tables. Look ye out therefore, brethren, from 3
among you seven men of good report, full of the Spirit
and of wisdom, whom we may appoint over this business.

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actual manual labour of distributing gifts in kind at a common meal for the needy. The 'service' must rather have been the administration or allocation of the central fund (iv. 34 f.) and the determining of the fitness and exact needs of applicants for aid—the sort of service, full enough of drudgery, yet demanding high gifts of practical wisdom, that falls to a Charity Organization Committee in a large town to-day. And we may observe, in passing, that this notion of their functions goes against the idea that the common charity of the primitive community was of the promiscuous order.

Still, was the charity actually given in kind or in money? What lay on the 'tables' and was distributed? From Luke xix. 23, 'wherefore gavest thou not my money into the bank' (*lit.* 'down upon (the) table'), we gather that it might well be money: and the supervision of even such relief would seem to the Twelve far inferior to the work in which they were already engaged. Nor is it excluded by the epithet 'daily': for the same persons need not have presented themselves daily. On the other hand there is much to commend the more obvious view that the relief was in kind. It suits the simple habits of the Christians, as also the humble associations of the words rendered by 'ministration' and 'serve.'

3. Look ye out therefore. Rather, 'but look ye out,' in contrast to the proposal implied in verse 2.

seven men: various reasons may have led to the choice of this number. It was the number of sacred completeness, also of the elders or rulers in Jewish townships. It has been suggested that it here corresponds to the number of household centres of meeting for the Christians, in different quarters of Jerusalem, and so to the number of the 'tables' to be administered. This last suggestion, while plausible, is nothing more.

whom we may appoint: and so obtain for them the like confidence which the church reposed in themselves, in wishing that the apostles should add this to their other ministry. Hitherto this 'daily service' had been an informal one, performed by voluntary workers (cf. 1 Cor. xvi. 15 f.) who had simply the confidence and approval of the Twelve. Evidently they had not been 'appointed' to their task; and so its due performance was not conceived to imply any special grace dependent on apostolic ordination. This casts light on the sense of 'appointment,' as simply a regularizing of the service of men recognized as already fitted by their gifts: see verse 6.

4 But we will continue stedfastly in prayer, and in the
5 ministry of the word. And the saying pleased the whole multitude: and they chose Stephen, a man full of faith and of the Holy Spirit, and Philip, and Prochorus, and Nicanor, and Timon, and Parmenas, and Nicolas a
6 proselyte of Antioch: whom they set before the apostles: and when they had prayed, they laid their hands on them.

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4. This suggests that the Twelve had hitherto practically confined themselves to the activities here named.

5. Stephen, a man full of faith and of the Holy Spirit. This special description of Stephen suggests that the narrative of the appointment of the Seven is introduced, not so much for its own sake, as in order to bring Stephen naturally before the reader.

and Philip, . . . and Nicolas a proselyte of Antioch. The mention of these names, only one of which plays any further part in Acts, shews the fidelity of Luke's information, probably preserved in written notes made for himself (e. g. during his stay at Cæsarea, where Philip was living, *c.* A. D. 56–58). The fact that Nicolas is described as of Antioch has perhaps a bearing on the problem as to where Acts was written (see Introduction, p. 21). It is interesting to learn that one at least of the Seven was a proselyte: it shews a certain liberality of feeling in the Jerusalem church, to appoint to a representative position one whose Judaism was only of a secondary or acquired nature. Some have inferred from the Greek character of all the names that their possessors were all Hellenists: but this, in view of the wide use of Greek surnames even for Palestinian Jews, is precarious. Finally it has been suggested that three were Hebrews and three Hellenists, the one proselyte completing the representative character of the committee of Seven. In any case they seem to have had oversight of the whole of the church's common charity, and not only of that destined for Hellenists.

Nicolas: there is no sufficient reason to identify this man with the supposed founder of the sect of Nicolaitans in Rev. ii. 6, in spite of the rather early patristic belief to that effect.

6. they laid their hands on them. The laying-on of hands was a familiar Jewish rite, based on O. T. precedents, e. g. Gen. xlviii. 14–20 (Jacob's blessing of the sons of Joseph), Num. viii. 10f. (the children of Israel lay their hands upon the Levites, so making them their representatives for service to Jehovah), xxvii. 18, Deut. xxxiv. 9. Its meaning seems to vary in different

And the word of God increased; and the number of 7
the disciples multiplied in Jerusalem exceedingly; and
a great company of the priests were obedient to the
faith.

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connexions, but in general to denote, as here, authorization for some office. In this sense it seems to have been used by Rabbis in admitting a disciple to the like status. In such connexions it does not denote transference of qualifying grace, but rather presupposes and recognizes its existence. So, clearly, in the present case, where the gifts named in verse 3 (in excess of the bare requirements of the functions to be performed) are assumed as present in the church's nominees ere they are formally appointed by the church's leaders, the apostles. The prayer accompanying this symbolic rite, and invoking Divine blessing on the Seven in their ministry, proves nothing further. Exactly the same union of prayer and laying-on of hands marked the solemn act of consecration wherewith the church of Antioch, through its leaders, certain 'prophets and teachers,' dismissed Paul and Barnabas upon the mission to which the Holy Spirit had called them (Acts xiii. 1–3) And no one, in the face of Paul's words (Gal. i. 1) in which he disclaims being an apostle 'from men (as source) or through the intervention of man,' can suppose that the Antiochene leaders transmitted to him any part of the grace of his apostolate.

The Seven are nowhere called 'deacons,' a fact the more noticeable because, in the one passage in which they are referred to later on, they are still called 'the Seven' (xxi. 8). There is, in fact, no connexion between their appointment and the subsequent rise, among Paul's churches, of a body of ministers known as deacons, other than the operation of similar conditions. We cannot even be sure that they were replaced by a similar board of officers, when they were scattered by the persecution evoked by Stephen. When Paul and Barnabas convey relief from Antioch to Judæa, it is to 'the elders' that it is sent (xi. 30).

7. Another of those summaries with which Acts marks progress. The progress is here due to the happy solution of the difficulty that had cropped up, but chiefly to the fresh energy of a Spirit-filled leader like Stephen, who had thus been brought to the front. A new feature in the church's increase is the adhesion of many of 'the priests,' probably of the humbler grades (men like Zacharias in Luke i), in contrast to the Sadducaic chief priests.

were obedient to the faith. The meaning appears to be that these priests were now beginning to manifest their convictions as Christians, in spite of official frowns.

8 And Stephen, full of grace and power, wrought great
9 wonders and signs among the people. But there arose certain of them that were of the synagogue called *the synagogue* of the Libertines, and of the Cyrenians, and of the Alexandrians, and of them of Cilicia and Asia,
10 disputing with Stephen. And they were not able to

vi. 8–15. *Stephen's activity and his arrest.* Meantime Stephen was establishing an ever-growing reputation both by deed and word: until, finally, he aroused the resentment of certain of his old associates, belonging to the Hellenist synagogue or synagogues in which it is natural to think that he would try to make known his new faith. When they found themselves unable to refute his appeal to prophecy touching the advance in Israel's religion as a mark of Messiah's advent, they fell back on the policy of repeating on every side, in a garbled form, certain bold words of his about the transient nature of the externals of current Jewish religion. This they stigmatized as 'blasphemy against Moses and God.' Hence they were able to turn public opinion against him, and to bring him before the Sanhedrin on quite a different charge from that hitherto urged against the Christians.

9. the synagogue called the synagogue **of the Libertines:** that is, of 'the Freedmen' from Rome, descendants for the most part, probably, of Jews carried into slavery by Pompey after the conquest of Judæa in 63 B. C. There were numerous synagogues in Jerusalem: and it was natural that these men, having in their antecedents so special a bond, should choose to worship together in one mainly frequented by them. As regards the other names which follow, it is an open question whether they represent each a separate synagogue. Some say, Yes, and assume that five synagogues are here in question: others assume two only: while some, and with much plausibility, assume three, corresponding to the geographical regions involved, viz. (1) Rome and Italy, (2) the NE. coast of Africa, (3) Asia Minor. It is interesting to think that Saul may have been among the Cilician Hellenists who opposed Stephen, for Tarsus was the capital of Cilicia: cf. vii. 58, 60.

disputing with Stephen. Cf. ix. 29, where the same class disputes with Saul after his conversion. That many Hellenists were as keen for the stricter ideal of the national religion as natives of Jerusalem itself, is quite likely from analogy. The fact that they were, as a class, suspected of being lax in their Judaism, would only make them the more forward to vindicate their zeal for orthodoxy, as occasion offered. In xxi. 27 we have a case in which 'Jews from Asia' played the part of defenders of the faith.

withstand the wisdom and the Spirit by which he spake.
Then they suborned men, which said, We have heard 11
him speak blasphemous words against Moses, and *against*
God. And they stirred up the people, and the elders, 12
and the scribes, and came upon him, and seized him, and
brought him into the council, and set up false witnesses, 13
which said, This man ceaseth not to speak words against
this holy place, and the law: for we have heard him say, 14
that this Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this place, and
shall change the customs which Moses delivered unto

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10. Cf. the promise in Luke xxi. 15, 'I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries shall not be able to withstand.'

12. Observe that 'the people' (and the elders, who at least represented lay feeling) are now for the first time roused against the preaching, since it was alleged to have touched the honour of Moses, the national Lawgiver. Similarly 'the scribes,' the class whose feeling Gamaliel had voiced on the last occasion when the Christians had been challenged, and who had not hitherto appeared prominently against them, come to the front in opposition to the gospel as conceived by Stephen. All this helps to shew that his preaching was largely a new departure in the Apostolic Church and brought on quite a fresh crisis. Yet he was only echoing a neglected side of Jesus' own teaching: see verse 14.

13. false witnesses, &c. False, in much the same sense as those who helped to bring Jesus to death before the same body, Mark xiv. 56, 'For many bare false witness against him, and their witness agreed not together.' That is, they took hold of certain bold sayings of Jesus, such as, 'Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up' (John ii. 19), which they reported as '*I will destroy* this temple that is made with hands, and in three days I will build another made without hands' (Mark xiv. 58): but the senses which different witnesses put upon such words were naturally contradictory. So was it in the disciple's case, when he echoed his Master's sayings. His words too were twisted and made false by prejudiced and hostile witnesses, though what he actually said was quite in keeping with words of O. T. prophecy: see vii. 48 f.

this holy place. The Sanhedrin was meeting somewhere within the temple precincts, or at least on the Temple Mount, with the temple itself in full view: cf. 14, 'shall destroy this place.'

15 us. And all that sat in the council, fastening their eyes on him, saw his face as it had been the face of an angel.

7 2 And the high priest said, Are these things so? And he said,

Brethren and fathers, hearken. The God of glory

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15. The grace of God was so manifest in Stephen's face, that it should have saved them from treating him as a blasphemer against God. Quite possibly this touch comes from Paul, who as keenly interested in the case (vii. 58) was probably present as a spectator.

vii. 1–53. *Stephen's defence from Scripture.* His speech is a formal reply to the charges of irreverence towards (1) the temple and its worship, (2) Mosaism as a system of usages of Divine institution. The specific form of irreverence alleged was the suggestion of the temporary character of each in the counsels of God, as being but a method of worship which might give place to something more adequate to the spirituality of Israel's God and of the worship desired by Him. Stephen's reply is virtually an appeal to the history of Israel's religion, both the facts of its development and the ideal interpretation of it given by the voice of prophecy. If we would realize the prejudices of Stephen's hearers against any plea, however cogent, for the temporary or relative significance of the institutions of Judaism, as but one stage in the unfolding of Israel's religion under the guidance of the Spirit of Israel's God—we need only recall the attitude of Rabbinic theology then and thereafter. The actual body of Mosaic Law was believed to have been handed by God to Moses—through the agency of angels, as was commonly asserted (see Gal. iii. 19; cf. Acts vii. 53). Further the Law, as drawn out by the scribes into a complete code of life, was held to have existed before the world —the very being of the world resting on it; so absolute was it regarded, so little susceptible of growth and change. These conditions should be kept clearly in mind, and attention will be called to the fitness of the argument at various points.

2. God's covenant relation to Abraham, the father of all Jews, began long before Moses, or temple, or even any sacred city was in existence—nay, when Abraham was not as yet an inhabitant of the Holy Land. How, then, could such things be regarded as of the essence of Israel's religion? That depended solely on God and on the covenant Promise, a promise which went through many stages, towards its final fulfilment in the Messianic Age. With this line of argument, which goes behind the Law and the Aaronic priesthood, and so places them in their true

appeared unto our father Abraham, when he was in
Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Haran, and said unto 3
him, Get thee out of thy land, and from thy kindred,

perspective as relative and temporary institutions compared with the Promise of the Living God—cf. both Paul (e. g. Gal. iii. esp. verse 17; Rom. iv.) and Hebrews.

The God of glory. This high title at once waves aside the charge of blasphemy, and by hinting at the sublimity of God rebukes all limiting thoughts of Jewish orthodoxy touching God's counsels.

appeared . . . in Mesopotamia. An unlikely place, judged by current Jewish standards. Yet there God appeared to His own, apart from any temple. Here, as in several places, the speech diverges from the biblical account, just as Josephus in rewriting biblical history often diverges from the Bible, whether Hebrew or Greek, under the influence of oral traditions, enlarging and modifying the written narratives. In Gen. xii. 1 the call here quoted comes *after* Abraham has removed to Haran; yet even Gen. xv. 7; Josh. xxiv. 3; Neh. ix. 7, seem to imply that he left 'Ur of the Chaldees' by Divine command, as Stephen asserts. Further, in Genesis it is Terah, Abraham's father, who leads the migration from Ur to Haran. But when we note that in Gen. xi. 31 'the land of Canaan,' and not Haran, is said to have been their *destination*; and that the Hebrew reads 'and they went forth with him' (the grammar being obscure), and again, 'they came unto Haran'—where LXX has 'he (Terah) led them forth . . . and he came'; we begin to see that a good deal lies behind. It does seem as though Terah is represented as having changed the destination of the migration by settling in Haran; and it was natural for Jewish tradition to read in all this Terah's infidelity to a Divine call (see *Midrash Rabbah*, cited below on verse 4) which had come through his devouter son, Abraham. This seems hinted in the present Hebrew text, which does not make Terah take the initiative in the journey: and it is boldly stated in Acts, Terah's part in the migration being totally ignored. No doubt, then, some oral tradition existed (such as that in Philo of Alexandria, writing in this same epoch), which supplemented and harmonized the two forms of the call of Abraham in Genesis. But such a knowledge of Jewish tradition is not likely to have been possessed by the Gentile author of Acts. Hence the speech owes its shape not so much to him as to his authority: see also verses 4, 6, 14, 16.

3. The fundamental promise on which Israel's religion rested is implied in this verse; in Gen. xii. 1 ff. it continues, 'And I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and make thy name great; and be thou a blessing: . . . and in thee shall all

4 and come into the land which I shall shew thee. Then
came he out of the land of the Chaldæans, and dwelt
in Haran: and from thence, when his father was dead,
God removed him into this land, wherein ye now dwell:
5 and he gave him none inheritance in it, no, not so much
as to set his foot on: and he promised that he would
give it to him in possession, and to his seed after him,
6 when *as yet* he had no child. And God spake on this
wise, that his seed should sojourn in a strange land,
and that they should bring them into bondage, and

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the families of the earth be blessed.' Stephen and his hearers would have all this in mind, as he traced the unfolding of the promise in Israel's history and brought out the strange and unlooked-for ways in which it moved towards fulfilment. God's ways not as men's ways, nor His thoughts as theirs; Israel's slowness of heart to respond to the Divine guidance—these are key-notes of the high argument (see verses 17, 25, 35, 39). Here, as throughout the speech, the phraseology is based on the LXX, which is virtually quoted in many clauses and phrases where there is no formal citation.

4. when his father was dead. But according to Gen. xi. 26, 32, xii. 4, Abraham, who was seventy years his father's junior, and left Haran at the age of seventy-five, removed into Canaan during Terah's lifetime; for the latter lived to the age of two hundred and five. The different view of the matter found in Acts (as also in Philo, *De Migr. Abrah.* 32) is apparently due to later Jewish reflection on the seeming impiety of Abraham's leaving his aged father, the care of whom naturally devolved on him. For Rabbinic literature is at great pains to explain this difficulty, though it does it in another way. God absolved Abraham from his filial duty. Yet this creates no precedent for others; for Scripture records Terah's death before Abraham's departure, that is his spiritual death, since Terah practised (or relapsed into) idolatry and 'the wicked are called dead while they are alive' (*Midrash Rabbah* on Genesis).

5. This verse emphasizes the sufficiency of God's Promise, an idea which Stephen is anxious to make his hearers realize in place of their reliance on the actual institutions which then represented their God's gracious relations with His people. The same thought underlies verses 7, 8, and recurs again and again: see verse 37.

6. four hundred years. So Gen. xv. 13, describing in round numbers the whole time of Israel's stay in Egypt. In Exod. xii. 40

entreat them evil, four hundred years. And the nation 7
to which they shall be in bondage will I judge, said God:
and after that shall they come forth, and serve me in this
place. And he gave him the covenant of circumcision: 8
and so *Abraham* begat Isaac, and circumcised him the
eighth day; and Isaac *begat* Jacob, and Jacob the twelve
patriarchs. And the patriarchs, moved with jealousy 9
against Joseph, sold him into Egypt: and God was with
him, and delivered him out of all his afflictions, and 10
gave him favour and wisdom before Pharaoh king of
Egypt; and he made him governor over Egypt and all
his house. Now there came a famine over all Egypt 11
and Canaan, and great affliction: and our fathers found
no sustenance. But when Jacob heard that there was 12
corn in Egypt, he sent forth our fathers the first time.
And at the second time Joseph was made known to 13
his brethren; and Joseph's race became manifest unto
Pharaoh. And Joseph sent, and called to him Jacob 14

Gal. iii. 17, the period is given as 430 years, which the LXX takes to cover also the sojourn of the patriarchs in Canaan. But the point is of no importance.

8. the covenant of circumcision. The idea of the word here rendered 'covenant' is not that of an agreement between two parties contracting, as it were, on a level, but (as is shewn by the verb 'gave') of a will or testament, dependent for its execution upon certain conditions to be fulfilled by the inferior party. Thus it is simply the solemn promulgation of the Promise, in clearer terms.

and so: i. e. relying on the Divine fidelity, though not yet possessing any Holy Land.

9. No circumstances, however untoward seemingly, can frustrate God's grace. He is free to use what means may seem good to Him: the end of the Promise is assured.

moved with jealousy. The first of a series of allusions to frailty and disappointing conduct on man's side, conditioning but not frustrating God's own overruling fidelity to His purpose, which was being so far fulfilled in the very subject of man's ill-treatment—in this case Joseph, in whom Stephen seems to see a forerunner of Jesus the Christ (as also in Moses, below).

his father, and all his kindred, threescore and fifteen
15 souls. And Jacob went down into Egypt; and he died,
16 himself, and our fathers; and they were carried over
unto Shechem, and laid in the tomb that Abraham

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14. threescore and fifteen souls. This agrees with the LXX in Gen. xlvi. 27; Exod. i. 5 (and some MSS. in Deut. x. 22, though the Vatican MS. goes with the Hebrew), while the Hebrew reads seventy in all cases. There are traces of early Rabbinic reflection on the subject, while Philo gives both reckonings and allegorizes about them.

16. and they were carried over unto Shechem: i. e. Jacob and his sons. But Genesis says Jacob was buried 'in the cave of the field of Machpelah, which Abraham bought . . . of Ephron the Hittite, before Mamre' (xlix. 30, l. 13). Further, Joseph was the only one of Jacob's sons whom the biblical narrative mentions as buried in Shechem (Josh. xxiv. 32; cf. Exod. xiii. 19). But Jewish tradition had begun as early as Josephus' day, and probably a good deal before (e.g. *The Book of Jubilees*, written before the Christian era), to busy itself about the fate of the bones of his brethren likewise (Josephus regards all the patriarchs as buried at Hebron): and though Jerome's statement that their tombs were shewn at Shechem may be explained by the influence of Acts upon Christian tradition, yet Rabbinic tradition to the same effect as Acts cannot be so explained. Hence we seem once more to find in Stephen's speech traces of Jewish *Haggada*, or tradition amplifying the O. T. history (in contrast to legal tradition, *Halacha*), and so evidence that it is not Luke's own 'free composition.'

But what are we to make of the statement that Abraham bought the tomb in Shechem, whereas Gen. xxxiii. 19; Josh. xxiv. 32, assign the purchase to Jacob? It was the field and cave of Machpelah in Hebron (Mamre) that Abraham bought from Ephron the Hittite. Hence we must recognize a confusion in the record, due either to Luke or to his source. It will not do to say that Abraham's building an altar at Shechem (Gen. xii. 6 f.) implied the purchase of the ground about it: for it is not ground but a tomb that is referred to in Acts.

But why this pointed reference to patriarchal tombs at Shechem at all? Stephen would suggest thereby either (1) that Shechem which was not one of Israel's 'holy' places, was yet (like Egypt) a place truly hallowed by associations with men in covenant with God; or (2) that the transference of the bodies of the patriarchs from Egypt to Shechem was one step towards possession of the Land of the Promise, to which allusion is made in the next verse.

bought for a price in silver of the sons of Hamor in Shechem. But as the time of the promise drew nigh, 17
which God vouchsafed unto Abraham, the people grew and multiplied in Egypt, till there arose another king over 18
Egypt, which knew not Joseph. The same dealt subtilly 19
with our race, and evil entreated our fathers, that they should cast out their babes to the end they might not live. At which season Moses was born, and was ex- 20
ceeding fair; and he was nourished three months in his father's house: and when he was cast out, Pharaoh's 21
daughter took him up, and nourished him for her own son. And Moses was instructed in all the wisdom of 22

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17. as the time of the promise drew nigh. One of the resonant notes in the address, in which its undertone comes out most clearly. The promise was reaching one momentous stage of its fulfilment, a stage for which God had been preparing all unnoticed and in ways unexpected. Divine providence underlay the coincidence between the increase of the people in Egypt and the approach of the destined hour—such is perhaps the force of the words, 'even as the time of the promise was drawing nigh . . . the people grew and multiplied.'

18. another king . . ., which knew not Joseph: 'another' here denotes 'of another order,' namely, of a different dynasty, replacing the alien Hyksos or Shepherd (nomad) Kings. The monarch in question knew little and cared less about the services of Joseph rendered under a different line of kings, the memory of whose reigns was hateful to the new dynasty. Privileges conferred by the one were not felt to bind the other in any way. Hence the sudden change of treatment.

20. At which season. Again the sufficiency of the God of Promise breaks forth, like the sun amid the clouds of earth, shewing that He is master of conditions and not bound by them.

exceeding fair: rather, 'goodly,' as in Exod. ii. 2 (whence the word comes); 'a fine child,' as we say.

21–40. Through these verses runs the idea that God's hand was with the future deliverer, in spite of the hostility of foes and the neglect and scorn of his own people—an idea which Stephen was about to press home in the case of the Prophet whom Moses foretold as like unto himself (verse 37): hence the emphasis on the analogous case of Moses.

the Egyptians; and he was mighty in his words and
23 works. But when he was well-nigh forty years old, it
came into his heart to visit his brethren the children of
24 Israel. And seeing one *of them* suffer wrong, he defended
him, and avenged him that was oppressed, smiting the
25 Egyptian: and he supposed that his brethren understood
how that God by his hand was giving them deliverance;
26 but they understood not. And the day following he
appeared unto them as they strove, and would have set
them at one again, saying, Sirs, ye are brethren; why do
27 ye wrong one to another? But he that did his neighbour
wrong thrust him away, saying, Who made thee a ruler
28 and a judge over us? Wouldest thou kill me, as thou
29 killedst the Egyptian yesterday? And Moses fled at
this saying, and became a sojourner in the land of Midian,
30 where he begat two sons. And when forty years were
fulfilled, an angel appeared to him in the wilderness of
31 mount Sinai, in a flame of fire in a bush. And when
Moses saw it, he wondered at the sight: and as he drew

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22. mighty in his words and works. Exactly the phrase in which Jesus is described in Luke xxiv. 19; cf. Acts x. 38.

23 ff. In Luke's Gospel, as well as elsewhere in Acts, Jesus is conceived as essentially the sympathetic Deliverer of his brethren from bondage to usurping powers of sin and suffering (Luke iv. 18; Acts x. 38; cf. Luke xiii. 16), yet as misunderstood by his own people (cf. Luke iv. 23 ff.).

25. One of the key-verses of the speech. Its anticipatory reference to Jesus is manifest: cf. 35 ff.

28. It was his own people's disloyalty to him that threatened to bring Moses into the clutch of the common foe. Similarly it was through the Jews that Jesus was crucified by the Romans. Stephen emphasizes the thought of verse 28 in the opening words of verse 29, in the phrase 'at this saying' (rather than the sheer fact that the episode had come to Pharaoh's ears).

29. Midian: apparently taken to denote or at least include the peninsula of Mt. Sinai. The real site of Sinai, and its relation to Horeb, is an obscure problem.

30. an angel: practically identified in verse 31 with 'the

near to behold, there came a voice of the Lord, I am the 32
God of thy fathers, the God of Abraham, and of Isaac,
and of Jacob. And Moses trembled, and durst not
behold. And the Lord said unto him, Loose the shoes 33
from thy feet: for the place whereon thou standest is
holy ground. I have surely seen the affliction of my 34
people which is in Egypt, and have heard their groaning,
and I am come down to deliver them: and now come,
I will send thee into Egypt. This Moses whom they 35
refused, saying, Who made thee a ruler and a judge?
him hath God sent *to be* both a ruler and a deliverer
with the hand of the angel which appeared to him in the
bush. This man led them forth, having wrought wonders 36
and signs in Egypt, and in the Red sea, and in the
wilderness forty years. This is that Moses, which said 37
unto the children of Israel, A prophet shall God raise up

Lord's voice' (cf. the Rabbinic *Bath Kol* or Heavenly Voice): cf. Exod. iii. 2. 7.

33. holy ground. This quotation (Exod. iii. 5) is made in order to suggest that wherever God is pleased to reveal Himself, there is 'holy ground,' even though special consecration as a 'holy place' (vi. 13) be lacking: see verses 48–50.

35. A sentence carefully worded with a view to the analogy with Jesus, which the speaker is about to draw and press home: see ii. 36, iii. 13, x. 38. Observe the impressive repetition of the demonstrative in 'this Moses,' 'this man' (rather than 'him'), 'this man,' 'this is that Moses,' 'this is he' (verses 35–38).

37. The parallel between Moses and Jesus, made obvious to the hearers by the conditions of the case and in the present context by the reiterated demonstratives of verses 35–38, here reaches its climax in Moses' definite prophecy that Another and Greater, yet one like unto him, should be raised up of God unto Israel. Though the rendering in the margin of the R. V., 'as He raised up me,' is preferable grammatically, yet the sense to which the implicit analogy between Moses and Jesus points is rather that of the text, 'like unto me' (the apparent sense of the Hebrew of Deut. xviii. 15, 18). In any case a prophet of equal authority with Moses is meant, one qualified to modify the statement of God's will as given by Moses: for prophecy was admitted to be

38 unto you from among your brethren, like unto me. This is he that was in the church in the wilderness with the angel which spake to him in the mount Sinai, and with our fathers: who received living oracles to give unto us:

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a fresh fount of Divine revelation. Hence this verse is of central significance for the issue between Stephen and his foes. Messiah had the right to modify both Mosaic customs and conditions of worship (e. g. as regards the temple). The only question was this, 'Is Jesus of Nazareth the Messiah?' Till this was settled, there could be no talk of 'blasphemy' in relation to his teaching, even though it modified that of Moses. The mere fact that Israel had rejected Jesus when he first offered himself as the Saviour of his people, was no disproof of his claim; it had done the like to Moses, and came to recognize its mistake. Why should Israel not repent its first attitude in Jesus' case likewise, and turn to welcome him back in power as its Deliverer (cf. iii. 19 ff.)?

38. in the church in the wilderness: rather, 'in the assembly in the wilderness.' The reference is to Deut. xviii. 16, where Moses is represented, just after the words cited in verse 37, as referring to 'the day of the assembly' for the giving of the Law (Exod. xix. f.; cf. Deut. iv. 10, ix. 10). There the LXX uses the same word *ecclēsia* that occurs here in Acts, and is rendered by 'church' or 'congregation.' Clearly, then, the better rendering is 'assembly,' as in Deut. ix. 10, xviii. 16; for it is a particular gathering in the wilderness of Sinai that is in question, and not the corporate being of Israel throughout their wanderings. It was on this occasion that Moses 'received living oracles' to give to the people.

with the angel. A refining synonym for God Himself, the outcome of a later feeling of awe too great to accept in its primitive simplicity the O. T. statement that Jehovah ('the Lord' of Deut. xviii. 16) spoke with Moses: cf. verse 53, 'the law . . . ordained by angels,' and Gal. iii. 19; Heb. ii. 2. Here Moses, as mediator between the two parties, Jehovah (or His angel) and Israel ('our fathers'), is implicitly compared to Jesus as Messiah, a parallel found also in Gal. iii. 19; Heb. viii. 6, xii. 18, 22 f.

living oracles: i. e. full of latent power or vitality; so God is called 'the living God.' Cf. Heb. iv. 12, 'The word of God is living'; also 1 Pet. i. 23. For Israel's privilege in receiving such Divine utterances, particularly the Decalogue (which Philo styles 'the ten oracles'), see Rom. iii. 2. Of course this whole verse refutes the charge against Stephen of speaking against Moses and

to whom our fathers would not be obedient, but thrust 39
him from them, and turned back in their hearts unto
Egypt, saying unto Aaron, Make us gods which shall go 40
before us: for as for this Moses, which led us forth out
of the land of Egypt, we wot not what is become of
him. And they made a calf in those days, and brought 41
a sacrifice unto the idol, and rejoiced in the works of
their hands. But God turned, and gave them up to 42
serve the host of heaven; as it is written in the book of
the prophets,

Did ye offer unto me slain beasts and sacrifices

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the Law.' Underlying much of the speech is the idea: 'It is not I, but you, who do despite to the Mosiac revelation, by turning its living oracles into a dead letter' (cf. verses 51–53).

39. turned back. Rather, simply *turned* in memory and desire to the gods of Egypt, with their sensuous worship. And so 'God turned' (verse 42), i. e. changed His attitude, in ceasing His active favour and leaving them severely alone, to eat the fruit of their ways in bondage to idolatry.

42. to serve the host of heaven. The heavenly bodies were often worshipped as deities (Deut. iv. 19, xvii. 3; 2 Kings xvii. 16, xxi. 3; Jer. viii. 2, xix. 13). It is not, however, recorded in the Pentateuch that the Israelites acted thus, though it is here inferred from Amos v. 25 f. that so it was. But it is doubtful whether this is the meaning of the passage in Amos, which in the Hebrew runs as follows:—'Did ye bring unto me sacrifices and offerings in the wilderness forty years, O house of Israel? Yea, ye have borne Siccuth (*or* the tabernacle of) your king and Chiun (*or* the shrine of) your images, the star of your God,' &c. As the judgement of exile, 'And I will carry you away,' follows at once on the latter verse, it can hardly refer to conduct in the wilderness, while the idolatry of the Monarchy in Israel—the real ground of the Exile—is passed over in silence. But our writer, who adheres closely to the LXX, connects the verse directly with the apostrophe in the former verse, and so refers all to the Wilderness wanderings.

in the book of the prophets. Amos is thus cited, because 'the Prophets' (along with Law and Hagiographa, Luke xxiv. 44) was one of the three headings under which the O. T. scriptures fell, or because the Twelve Minor Prophets were reckoned as a single book.

Forty years in the wilderness, O house of Israel?
43 And ye took up the tabernacle of Moloch,
And the star of the god Rephan,
The figures which ye made to worship them:
And I will carry you away beyond Babylon.
44 Our fathers had the tabernacle of the testimony in the
wilderness, even as he appointed who spake unto Moses,
that he should make it according to the figure that he
45 had seen. Which also our fathers, in their turn, brought

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43. A difficult verse when compared with the form found in Amos, as cited above (under verse 42). The word here given as 'tabernacle' may in the Hebrew be read thus or as a proper name, Siccuth, a Babylonian deity; while the Hebrew for Moloch (so the LXX), the God of Ammon (cf. Lev. xviii. 21; 2 Kings xxiii. 10), is very similar to that for 'king.' Next, how explain Rephan, *or* Rompha(n), in relation to 'Chiun' in the Hebrew? It is said that the Egyptians worshipped a pair of deities of foreign (Babylonian) origin, named Renpu and Ken—the one male, the other female. Thus the LXX, a translation made in Egypt, may have substituted the male deity for the female. In any case a Babylonian deity connected with the Saturn planet is meant under either name. This may also help to explain the substitution of 'Babylon' for the 'Damascus' of Amos (Heb. and LXX), though it may be only a slip of memory due to the fact that it was to Babylonia that those addressed by Amos were actually taken captive.

44 ff. The connexion of these verses with the foregoing is very loose. The reference to an idol's tabernacle may have suggested 'the tabernacle of the testimony' in Israel, and so the question of Jehovah's dwelling-place. But certainly the speech now turns to the second charge, contempt of Israel's temple or 'holy place.'

the tabernacle of the testimony: here so called because it contained 'the ark of the testimony,' with 'the two tables of the testimony' (Exod. xxv. 22, xxxi. 18). The words 'in the wilderness' are a reminder that, though pitched in no holy city but in the waste, this tabernacle—so inferior in dignity to the later temple—was yet the place where God was pleased to meet His people, and so was *ipso facto* holy. He might again change the conditions of communion once more.

according to the figure that he had seen. Perhaps there is here a suggestion of the idea so forcibly developed in Heb. viii.

in with Joshua when they entered on the possession of the nations, which God thrust out before the face of our fathers, unto the days of David; who found favour in the 46
sight of God, and asked to find a habitation for the God of Jacob. But Solomon built him a house. Howbeit 47, 48
the Most High dwelleth not in *houses* made with hands; as saith the prophet,

The heaven is my throne, 49
And the earth the footstool of my feet:
What manner of house will ye build me? saith the Lord:
Or what is the place of my rest?
Did not my hand make all these things? 50

Ye stiffnecked and uncircumcised in heart and ears, 51

2–5, viz. that 'the veritable tabernacle,' after the pattern of which Moses was commanded to make his, was in heaven, a work of God (so Wisd. of Sol. ix. 8 asserts of Solomon's temple). Hence any earthly representation must be but shadowy and relative.

45. unto the days of David. This goes either with 'brought in,' i. e. so that it remained 'unto,' &c.; or with 'thrust out,' the conquest being only completed in David's day. Either would be true to fact: see 2 Sam. v. 4–10, vii. 1, 2.

46. asked, &c. See 2 Sam. vii. 2 ff.; 1 Kings viii. 17 ff.; Ps. cxxxii. 5.

48. This is one of the watchwords of the speech (cf. John iv. 21–23), and contains the virtual apologia of the accused. It had behind it not only Isa. lxvi. 1 f., but also the words of Solomon's prayer at the dedication of his temple (1 Kings viii. 27): 'But will God in very deed dwell on the earth? Behold, heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain Thee: how much less this house that I have builded!' Note the striking effect of the title chosen, 'the Most High.'

51. Ye stiffnecked and uncircumcised in heart and ears. This outburst comes somewhat abruptly in form, and has been supposed due to the speaker's perception of the signs of dissent and growing impatience among his audience. Yet it is the climax of the logic of the whole address, of which we have but a bare epitome. As to the stinging severity of the phrases used, it is to be noticed that they had often been applied to Israel in the past by its leaders: see Exod. xxxii. 9, xxxiii. 3, 5; Deut ix. 6,

ye do always resist the Holy Ghost: as your fathers did,
52 so do ye. Which of the prophets did not your fathers
persecute? and they killed them which shewed before of
the coming of the Righteous One; of whom ye have now
53 become betrayers and murderers; ye who received the
law as it was ordained by angels, and kept it not.
54 Now when they heard these things, they were cut to

13; 2 Chron. xxx. 8; Lev. xxvi. 41; Jer. vi. 10, ix. 26; Ezek. xliv. 7, 9.

ye do always resist the Holy Ghost. Even here Stephen has probably a prophetic word in mind, viz. Isa. lxiii. 10, 'But they rebelled, and grieved His holy spirit' (cf. Num. xxvii. 14). But it is his new sense of the Holy Spirit at work in the souls of men, in connexion with the Messianic outpouring at Pentecost and since, that makes him lay his finger on this the inmost aspect of stubbornness of heart against the growing light of an ever-progressive revelation (cf. Luke xii. 10; John iv. 23). The charge is pressed home by the reiteration of 'ye.'

52. Which of the prophets, &c. See 2 Chron. xxxvi. 16 (a summary of the causes of the Exile): 'But they mocked the messengers of God, and despised His words, and scoffed at His prophets, until the wrath of the Lord arose against His people.' Stephen but echoes the tenor of his Master's words in Luke xi. 47, xiii. 34.

the Righteous One: i. e. of Isa. liii. 11; cf. Acts iii. 14, xxii. 14.

53. ye who. Rather, 'men who' or 'ye, I mean, who,' in keeping with the concentrated passion of the closing words, 'and kept it not.' As has been said, 'the sting is in the tail.' Their own charge is turned upon themselves with crushing effect, in the spirit of one then present who was yet to write, 'not the hearers of a law are just before God, but the doers' (Rom. ii. 13).

as it was ordained by angels. Cf. Heb. ii. 2, 'For if the word spoken through angels proved stedfast,' &c.; Gal. iii. 19, 'It (the Law) was ordained through angels by the hand of a mediator': see verse 38.

vii. 54—viii. 1ª. *Stephen's martyrdom.*

55. being full of the Holy Ghost. Cf. vi. 5 for Stephen's habitual fullness of Holy Spirit power (cf. vi. 8). It was in the fervour and love which sprang from this abiding state that he was enabled now to turn his soul from men to heaven, and with rapt gaze see, as it were, God's very 'glory,' the manifested

the heart, and they gnashed on him with their teeth.
But he, being full of the Holy Ghost, looked up stedfastly 55
into heaven, and saw the glory of God, and Jesus standing
on the right hand of God, and said, Behold, I see the 56
heavens opened, and the Son of man standing on the
right hand of God. But they cried out with a loud voice, 57
and stopped their ears, and rushed upon him with one
accord; and they cast him out of the city, and stoned 58
him: and the witnesses laid down their garments at the

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splendour of Deity ('the glory of the Lord,' Luke ii. 9; cf. 'the effulgence of His glory,' Heb. i. 3), as Ezekiel, for instance, saw it in vision (e. g. i. 28, x. 4: cf. the *Shechinah* of later Jewish theology). He saw too Jesus, his beloved Master, at the right hand of power: see the next note.

Jesus standing on the right hand of God. See Luke xxii. 69, 'From henceforth shall the Son of man be seated at the right hand of the power of God': cf. Heb. viii. 1, 'A high priest, who sat down on the right hand of the throne of the Majesty in the heavens.' As in these passages, and also in Acts ii. 34 (Ps. xc. 1), Jesus is represented as seated, the older commentators saw in 'standing' a special posture of succour and welcome to his tried witness.

56. The phrase 'the Son of man' (elsewhere only in the gospels, yet see Rev. i. 13; Heb. ii. 6) water-marks this utterance as original. Even the departure from the wording of the tradition of Christ's own words, in the word 'standing,' makes it the less likely that the exclamation was a mere literary echo of the words in Luke xxii. 69—words which themselves point back to Dan. vii. 13. Cf. the Judæo-Christian *Gospel of the Hebrews*, where the risen Jesus is made to address James as follows, 'My brother, eat thy bread; for the Son of man hath risen from among those that sleep.'

57. See Luke xxii. 70 f.; Mark xiv. 63 f., for the light in which the Sanhedrin would naturally regard such an avowal.

58. For stoning 'without the camp' as the penalty for blasphemy, see Lev. xxiv. 14-16, and cf. Luke iv. 29, where Jesus himself was hurried out of Nazareth to be hurled down a steep place and stoned. In view, however, of the fact that at this time the Romans did not allow the native authorities the power of life and death (John xviii. 31), it is somewhat hard to explain the stoning of Stephen. Probably it was due to a sudden impulse of fanatical fury, operating at a moment when Rome's

59 feet of a young man named Saul. And they stoned
Stephen, calling upon *the Lord*, and saying, Lord Jesus,
60 receive my spirit. And he kneeled down, and cried with
a loud voice, Lord, lay not this sin to their charge. And

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actual authority in Judæa was at its weakest. For the position of the procurator, Pilate, was during his last years of office (he was deposed in A. D. 36) rather a precarious one—he having reason to fear the results of complaints against him at Rome. Hence he may have had to wink at a good deal, as the condition of retaining such power as he had. It seems to have been during another period of governmental weakness—this time between the rule of two governors—that James, the Lord's brother, was martyred, probably about A. D. 62.

This verse shews that the proceedings, if tumultuary and irregular in a sense, yet observed the judicial form for such cases, as laid down in Deut. xvii. 7, 'The hand of the witnesses shall be first upon him to put him to death, and afterward the hand of all the people.'

a young man named Saul. The term 'young man' was elastic in usage, and applied up to the age of forty (e. g. Agrippa I, in Josephus, *Ant.* xviii. 6, 7). The very circumstantial touch as to Saul's part in the stoning can hardly have come from any one's memory save that of Saul himself; and the 'historical' spirit in which he is referred to as 'a young man named Saul,' looks like the style of Acts rather than of an earlier source. It seems probable, then, that Luke had heard from Paul's own lips this part of the story, if not all (cf. vi. 9–15, vii. 55–57).

59. calling upon the Lord: *lit.* 'invoking.' The fact that this mode of address is directed to Jesus (cf. ix. 14, xxii. 16) shews in how lofty and Divine a sense he was to Stephen the 'Lord' of the members of his Messianic kingdom. Cf. Jesus' own invocation of the Father in Luke xxiii. 46.

60. kneeled down: as Jesus himself in the agony in Gethsemane (Luke xxii. 41). The more usual Jewish posture in prayer was standing (e. g. the Pharisee and Publican in Luke xviii. 11, 13). But kneeling seems to have been the attitude indicative of a special sense of dependence (cf. Mark xv. 19, 'Bowing their knees worshipped [or did homage to] him'): cf. Acts ix. 40, xx. 36, xxi. 5; Eph. iii. 14.

with a loud voice: i. e. collecting his ebbing energies, in a supreme effort to express his inmost feeling: cf. Luke xxiii. 46.

Lord, lay not this sin to their charge. Cf. Luke xxiii. 34; also James' dying words (Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* ii. 23), 'I beseech, Lord God, Father, forgive them: for they know not what they do'—an analogy which suggests that Stephen's final prayer was

when he had said this, he fell asleep. And Saul was consenting unto his death.

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addressed to God the Father. As to its exact meaning, it appears from 1 Macc. xiii. 38 f., xv. 5, 8, that the words 'place not to them' (as it is literally), or 'confirm not to them this sin,' are equivalent to 'remit to them this sin' (= Luke xxiii. 34).

fell asleep: a peculiarly effective ending (especially in the original) to this scene of storm and stress. The phrase is highly characteristic of the Christian idea of death (see *Gospel of the Hebrews*, quoted under verse 56, as well as Matt. xxvii. 52; John xi. 11 f.; Acts xiii. 36; 1 Thess. iv. 13-15).

viii. 1a. And Saul was consenting unto his death: rather, 'sympathizing with his doing to death.' This personal touch, a matter of inward feeling rather than objective action, seems derived by our author from Paul's own confession: cf. xxii. 20, 'And when the blood of Stephen thy witness was (being) shed, I also (myself) was standing by, and consenting.' There is no sign that Saul was a member of the Sanhedrin; rather he was a companion and abettor of the witnesses who had brought the case before that body. He had come up to Jerusalem from his native Tarsus at an early age, to perfect himself in the Law under the eminent Rabbi Gamaliel (xxii. 3; Phil. iii. 5, 6); and was at this time, doubtless, attached to one of the 'Hellenist' synagogues in which Stephen had actually sought to deliver his special witness (vi. 9). If not the rising hope of the unbending Pharisaic party, he was at least a marked man for his age, both as to strictness and as to zeal (Gal. i. 14). He can hardly have been very young, else he would not have been entrusted with so leading a part in the persecution which followed: cf. xxii. 19 f., xxvi. 10 f. (and the notes thereon); Gal. i. 13, 23; 1 Cor. xv. 9. Yet he need not have been over thirty, as the authorities would be glad to use youthful ardour as an excellent tool. A man of undoubted piety, and of an earnestness which was free from all suspicion of officialism, would help to commend their cause to popular sympathy and save their action from seeming a mere piece of official jealousy.

The spread of the Gospel beyond Jerusalem to ever wider circles. viii. 1—xi. 18.

The first stage of the narrative as outlined in i. 8 is now at an end. Already persecution is making the church a truly missionary church, and its fortunes in this relation are next to be traced—first within Palestine (viii. 4—xi. 18), and then outside it (xi. 19—xxviii). It was no accident that expansion dated from Stephen's martyrdom, that his blood was thus the seed of

And there arose on that day a great persecution against
the church which was in Jerusalem; and they were all
scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judæa and
2 Samaria, except the apostles. And devout men buried
3 Stephen, and made great lamentation over him. But

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the wider church. For the gospel as he apprehended it (after the manner familiar to us in the Epistle to the Hebrews) essentially transcended Jewish nationalism in its spirit and conception. Though not a word had been said by Stephen touching Gentiles, the spirit of legalism and ceremonialism, which was the real barrier between Jew and Gentile, was broken through by his large ideas of God and His graciousness. So the next thing we read is the extension of the new *ecclēsia* beyond the 'Holy Land' proper, and the incorporation of Samaritans on their partly alien soil. Then the Ethiopian eunuch (a detached proselyte returning to his distant and 'unclean' land), and the uncircumcised semi-proselyte Cornelius and his fellows, mark successive steps towards the inclusion of Gentiles as such—the stage opened up at Antioch through the labours of certain of the dispersed Hellenists (xi. 19 ff.).

viii. 1ᵇ–3. *Persecution scatters the Jerusalem Church.*

1ᵇ. a great persecution. The justice of this expression cannot be questioned in view of Paul's reference to his own share in the matter. The memory of it haunted him to the end of his days (1 Tim. i. 13); he describes himself as having 'made havoc' of the Church of God (Gal. i. 13, 23)—the very phrase used of him in ix. 21.

the church . . . in Jerusalem. The words 'in Jerusalem' are added by anticipatory contrast to the larger area over which the refugees were scattered.

all: a general statement. Some were still left: cf. verse 3.

the regions of Judæa and Samaria. Probably 'Judæa' is here used (as in i. 8) in the larger or Roman sense, including all Palestine (and so Galilee and Peræa), save the semi-alien Samaria: cf. x. 37, 'All Judæa, beginning from Galilee.'

except the apostles. They, as the commissioned witnesses and leaders, did not feel free to anticipate the danger of arrest by flight. Perhaps their known orthodoxy as regards temple-worship may have helped to shelter them, in contrast to Stephen's Hellenist fellow believers, who probably felt the brunt of the attack; see xi. 19 f. The clause may have verse 14 in view.

2. devout men buried Stephen. Some find a difficulty in this verse, as coming after the mention of so severe a persecution,

Saul laid waste the church, entering into every house, and haling men and women committed them to prison.

They therefore that were scattered abroad went about 4
preaching the word. And Philip went down to the city 5
of Samaria, and proclaimed unto them the Christ. And 6

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and explain it as due to Luke's resumption of a written source after inserting verse 1. Others try to get a special meaning out of 'devout men.' But probably Luke trusted his readers to see that verse 2 must have happened before verse 1 took effect; his main object was to emphasize the close connexion between Stephen's speech and the resulting persecution.

3. But Saul laid waste the church, &c.: better, 'But Saul proceeded to ravage the church, entering house by house, and dragging off men and women he committed them to prison.' Every clause of the verse emphasizes the relentless thoroughness of his measures, implying, as it does, 'domiciliary visitation' of suspected households. Cf. his own confessions in xxii. and xxvi, particularly xxii. 4, 'binding and delivering into prisons both men and women.'

viii. 4–8. *Philip evangelizes among the Samaritans.*

4. They therefore, &c. This verse contains a general statement, while the next introduces a particular instance of the evangelization thus brought about. The case presents certain features bearing on the way in which God's leading broke through the limits of the church's previous experience or even thought.

went about: rather, 'passed through,' with a suggestion of thorough visitation of the area in question. The verb is characteristic of Luke, being used frequently in Acts for missionary itineration: cf. viii. 40, ix. 32, x. 38, xi. 19, xiii. 6, 14, xiv. 24, xv. 3, 41, xvi. 6, xvii. 23, xviii. 23, xix. 1, 21, xx. 2, 25. The notion of leisurely thoroughness of progress comes out well in Acts xvii. 23, where Paul at Athens says, 'As I passed along and observed the objects of your worship.'

preaching: more exactly, 'spreading as good news.'

5. And: rather, 'But' or 'Now,' as introducing a special case.

went down: i. e. from the capital, Jerusalem.

the city of Samaria: i. e. the capital of the district also known as Samaria (cf. 'the nation of Samaria,' verse 9), which seems to have contained hardly any other places worthy the name 'city,' but only 'villages' (verse 25). Herod renamed the city *Sebasté*, the Greek for 'Augusta,' in honour of Cæsar Augustus.

the Christ. The Samaritans too were looking for 'the

the multitudes gave heed with one accord unto the things
that were spoken by Philip, when they heard, and saw
7 the signs which he did. For *from* many of those which
had unclean spirits, they came out, crying with a loud
voice: and many that were palsied, and that were lame,
8 were healed. And there was much joy in that city.
9 But there was a certain man, Simon by name, which
beforetime in the city used sorcery, and amazed the
people of Samaria, giving out that himself was some
10 great one: to whom they all gave heed, from the least
to the greatest, saying, This man is that power of God
11 which is called Great. And they gave heed to him,
because that of long time he had amazed them with his
12 sorceries. But when they believed Philip preaching

Christ' or Messiah (John iv. 25); and so it was in this character that Philip set forth Jesus as Saviour.

viii. 9–13. *Simon Magus.*

9. Simon. Around this personage, Simon Magus (i. e. 'Simon the Sorcerer'), a cloud of legend soon gathers in tradition, and he becomes the prototype and father of all heresy. He was, however, one of a class quite common in the East, those namely who used 'magic' (a mixture of what we know as jugglery with the 'black arts' of the quack and charlatan) to establish a reputation for special kinship with the Divine (see verse 10). About this time in particular such a relation was thought of as emanation from Deity, an offshoot of the Divine nature or power (cf. Wisd. of Sol. vii. 22 ff.) being conceived to become incarnate in the magician. Simon seems to have won the name of being the incarnation of the highest personal potency emanating from God, and so to have occupied among the Samaritans very much the place which their religion assigned to the coming Messiah (John iv. 25). Indeed it is possible that Simon, after his first formal adhesion to the name of Jesus the Messiah, boldly claimed to be himself the true Messiah. A hint of this later rôle as anti-Christ seems visible in verse 23.

10. from the least to the greatest: *lit.* 'from little to great,' from lowly to influential, i. e. all classes: cf. xxvi. 22; Gen. xix. 11; Jer. xxxi. 34 (= Heb. viii. 11); Jonah iii. 5; Rev. xi. 18, xix. 5.

good tidings concerning the kingdom of God and the name of Jesus Christ, they were baptized, both men and women. And Simon also himself believed: and being 13
baptized, he continued with Philip; and beholding signs and great miracles wrought, he was amazed.

Now when the apostles which were at Jerusalem heard 14
that Samaria had received the word of God, they sent unto them Peter and John: who, when they were come 15

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12. concerning the kingdom of God. Cf. i. 3, xiv. 22, xix. 8, xxviii. 23, 31.

13. Simon's belief was mainly the outcome of wonder at the deeds of power wrought in the name of Jesus as Messiah. This was also the case with the Samaritans in general (verse 6), as was natural seeing that it was on such grounds that they had before given heed to Simon (verse 11).

viii. 14–17. *Official incorporation of Samaritans in the Messianic community.* The original object of the visit of Peter and John was probably to satisfy themselves that God had really opened up the Messianic kingdom to so unlikely a class as Samaritans, and that in considerable numbers. It was the first of a whole series of surprises of a like order which the Lord of the Kingdom had in store for the apostles and other leaders of the Jerusalem Church. But where the Spirit led, there they had no choice but to follow, in spite of former prejudices. And Acts is largely taken up with the story of how the Judæo-Christian Church, under the lead of the original apostles, bowed to the logic of Divine facts in the growth of Messiah's kingdom from its narrow Jewish limits to something like world-wide comprehensiveness (cf. xi. 17 f., 20–23, xv. 1, 7–21). That the primary object of this visit was as just indicated, all other features (as in verses 15 f.) being secondary and non-essential, is made clear by the parallel case of the visit to Antioch of Barnabas (xi. 22 ff.), who was not one of 'the apostles' (in the narrower sense) at all, and whose work consisted in verifying the report that 'the grace of God' had indeed laid hold of a new class and admitted it to the Kingdom. It is mainly on the contrary assumption, namely, that the story is meant to glorify 'the apostles' by representing the 'grace of confirmation' as dependent on them (in contrast to the Evangelist Philip, 'full of (the) Spirit' as he was, vi. 3), that this section has been suspected of being largely unhistorical, the record of belief in the post-apostolic age rather than of actual events.

down, prayed for them, that they might receive the Holy
16 Ghost: for as yet he was fallen upon none of them: only
they had been baptized into the name of the Lord Jesus.
17 Then laid they their hands on them, and they received
18 the Holy Ghost. Now when Simon saw that through the

15. prayed . . ., that they might receive the Holy Ghost. It is not clear why the visible tokens of 'Holy Spirit' power had not accompanied their baptism, as was usual (to judge from ii. 38; cf. the 'sealing' with the Holy Spirit, associated with faith in Eph. i. 13 f.), or had not even coincided with their reception of the word, as in x. 44. But in any case such completion of their spiritual experience through the apostles' prayer and laying-on of hands (see vi. 6 for the usage as symbolic of installation in a new status), seems to have been thought of as confirmatory evidence, in the sight of all men, that God, in giving to these converts the grace of faith, had given to the new class of believers the full privileges of the Messianic kingdom.

16. This explanatory verse is markedly Lucan in phraseology. For the picturesque description of Holy Spirit as 'falling' upon the recipients (fear is so described in relation to its visible effects, in Luke i. 12; Acts xix. 17), cf. x. 44, xi. 15.

17. received: rather, 'began to receive,' with reference to the series of Holy Spirit phenomena (see x. 44–46, xix. 6) which were the objective proof of the possession of saving faith (x. 45, xi. 18). These seem at first—before Paul taught a deeper view, touching the Spirit as 'indwelling' and already implied in faith (cf. Rom. viii. 1–16)—to have been viewed as identical with reception of the Spirit. This naïve preoccupation with the outer witness to the senses, was quite natural to begin with, ere actual experience of the moral 'fruit of the Spirit,' as set forth in Gal. v. 22 f., had taught men to trace the spiritual life, from its very inception, to the inner working of the Spirit.

viii. 18–25. *Detection of Simon Magus as no true believer.*

18 f. Simon, whose interest was in strange phenomena, fixed upon this sensible wonder, and, in the unethical and irreverent spirit characteristic of heathen religion, proposed to buy from the apostles a share in the marvellous power which he erroneously conceived them to have, like a magical secret, in their own possession: of the spiritual nature and conditions of their ministry he had no inkling. Simon's attitude to the ministry of spiritual forces which are of God's sovereign gift, rather than anything that man can traffic in, has given rise to the term 'simony,' the securing of ecclesiastical office by mercenary means.

18. through the laying on of the apostles' hands. Not

laying on of the apostles' hands the Holy Ghost was
given, he offered them money, saying, Give me also this 19
power, that on whomsoever I lay my hands, he may
receive the Holy Ghost. But Peter said unto him, Thy 20
silver perish with thee, because thou hast thought to
obtain the gift of God with money. Thou hast neither 21
part nor lot in this matter: for thy heart is not right
before God. Repent therefore of this thy wickedness, 22
and pray the Lord, if perhaps the thought of thy heart
shall be forgiven thee. For I see that thou art in the 23
gall of bitterness and in the bond of iniquity. And 24
Simon answered and said, Pray ye for me to the Lord,

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instrumentally but as visible condition to the eye of Simon: cf. 1 Tim. iv. 14, 'the gift . . . given thee through prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery.' The preposition *dia*, here rendered 'through,' often means rather 'under the conditions of,' as in Rom. iv. 11, where 'though they be in uncircumcision' is literally 'through uncircumcision.'

20. the gift of God. The word for 'gift' in Peter's indignant rebuke is emphatic, 'the free boon.' Thus he lays bare Simon's impious thought, as ignoring God in the whole matter—God who gives His grace as a gift, on conditions indeed but those purely spiritual.

22. if perhaps: expressing doubt only as to whether Simon's prayer would express penitence genuine enough to warrant the Divine forgiveness: see verse 24.

23. art in the gall of bitterness and in the bond of iniquity. In Deut. xxix. 18 we read 'lest there should be among you a root that beareth gall and wormwood,' which is echoed in Heb. xii. 15. In both cases the phrase denotes a person spreading bitterness around; and this is the sense which here best suits the original, 'For unto gall of bitterness . . . I see thee being.' This is most naturally rendered, as in R.V. marg., 'Thou wilt become gall (or a gall root) of bitterness,' or perhaps, 'Thou art as gall of bitterness.' The usual rendering seems wrongly to refer to Simon's own condition rather than to the hurtful effect he is to have on others—the sense which also suits what we hear of his later career. The phrase 'bond of iniquity' echoes Isa. lviii. 6.

24. Pray ye. A hint of the superficial nature of Simon's religion. He shuns with facile evasiveness the road of true penitence unto deeper faith. The prayers of greater *magi* than

that none of the things which ye have spoken come upon me.

25 They therefore, when they had testified and spoken the word of the Lord, returned to Jerusalem, and preached the gospel to many villages of the Samaritans.

26 But an angel of the Lord spake unto Philip, saying, Arise, and go toward the south unto the way that goeth down from Jerusalem unto Gaza: the same is desert.

27 And he arose and went: and behold, a man of Ethiopia, a eunuch of great authority under Candace, queen of the

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himself—men more in the secrets of 'the Lord'—will avail more surely, or at least with less moral effort to himself, than his own. It is all of a piece with the pagan and unspiritual notion of religious power which shews itself in his original request in verse 19. Nor has he changed his mind since the rebuke: he is anxious only to escape what he fears may be of the nature of a curse.

25. The language of this verse and its summary character seem to reveal Luke's hand rather than any written source. It helps to emphasize the moral of the narrative, viz. that the Kingdom had been duly opened to the new class in question, the despised Samaritans (see Matt. xvi. 19, xviii. 18; John xx. 23).

viii. 26-40. *Philip's further activity in extending the Messianic Kingdom.* Here our author's liking for the style of the LXX, wherever the subject-matter is akin, makes it the harder to distinguish what belongs to his informant and what to himself.

26. toward the south: i. e. as Philip went from Samaria to join the road between Jerusalem and Gaza, which lies to the south-west of Palestine, near the sea.

the same is desert: i. e. the route was a solitary one (cf. 2 Sam. ii. 24). But why should this be noted? Perhaps to bring out Philip's trustful obedience, where he could not foresee the end in view. Thus it gives more force to the words 'and he arose and went.'

27. a man of Ethiopia. Ethiopia lay south of Egypt, having as capital Meroë, on the upper Nile. The incorporation into Messiah's *ecclēsia* of one so distant was in itself a new step: still more the ignoring of his condition as a eunuch, who as such can have been only a proselyte with partial privileges in Israel (Deut. xxiii. 1).

Candace. Not a personal but an official name for the queens of Ethiopia, like 'Pharaoh' of the kings of Egypt.

Ethiopians, who was over all her treasure, who had come
to Jerusalem for to worship; and he was returning and 28
sitting in his chariot, and was reading the prophet Isaiah.
And the Spirit said unto Philip, Go near, and join thyself 29
to this chariot. And Philip ran to him, and heard him 30
reading Isaiah the prophet, and said, Understandest
thou what thou readest? And he said, How can I, 31
except some one shall guide me? And he besought
Philip to come up and sit with him. Now the place of 32
the scripture which he was reading was this,

He was led as a sheep to the slaughter;
And as a lamb before his shearer is dumb,
So he openeth not his mouth:
In his humiliation his judgement was taken away: 33
His generation who shall declare?
For his life is taken from the earth.

And the eunuch answered Philip, and said, I pray thee, 34
of whom speaketh the prophet this? of himself, or
of some other? And Philip opened his mouth, and 35

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28. was reading: i. e. aloud to himself; cf. verse 30.

29. the Spirit. The change from 'angel of the Lord' in verse 26 is to be noted: cf. x. 19 for the phrase. Yet we must remember that in Heb. i. 14 angels are defined as 'ministering spirits,' and that in Acts xxiii. 8 f. the two are treated as almost synonymous, the difference perhaps being that 'spirit' is there the wider notion (including human spirits, as in Heb. xii. 9, 23; cf. 1 Pet. iii. 19). Hence it is possible that here we have still reference to the angel under another title (see also note on x. 19). Otherwise we have a change from the more external voice of an angel to the internal monition of the Divine Spirit. See further on verse 39.

32 f. the place, &c. Rather, 'the contents of the particular scripture' (see verse 35, cf. 1 Pet. ii. 6), i. e. Isa. liii. 7 f. in the LXX, which here rather obscures the meaning of the Hebrew. Isa. liii. 8 reads, 'By oppression and judgement (i. e. an oppressive sentence) he was taken away; and as for his generation (i. e. his contemporaries), who among them considered that he was cut off out of the land of the living?'

35. The picture of the Suffering Servant, which seems never

beginning from this scripture, preached unto him Jesus.
36 And as they went on the way, they came unto a certain
water; and the eunuch saith, Behold, *here is* water;
38 what doth hinder me to be baptized? And he commanded the chariot to stand still: and they both went down into the water, both Philip and the eunuch; and
39 he baptized him. And when they came up out of the water, the Spirit of the Lord caught away Philip; and

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to have been connected with Messiah before Jesus' life and death, naturally became a prime confirmation of faith to the early Christians: cf. Pet. ii. 22 ff.; Luke xxiv. 25-27, 46; and see note on iii. 13.

opened his mouth. A phrase introducing momentous utterance, see x. 34; Matt. v. 2; here defined by the words 'declared unto him as joyful news Jesus,' i. e. the fulfilment in him of this and other Messianic traits (cf. v. 42).

36. the eunuch saith. It seemed the natural thing to this proselyte, who had once before been consecrated to the fellowship of Israel by symbolic washing, to propose to enter the 'Israel within Israel' by a similar rite expressive of his new and fuller faith.

37. This verse of the A. V. was inserted in the second century (before Irenæus' day) to define the implied faith of the eunuch. Its interest lies in the fact that it probably reflects the baptismal confession wont to be made in the circle to which the author of the verse belonged. A simple yet sufficient confession it is: cf. Mark viii. 29 (=Matt. xvi. 16 f.); Rom. x. 9. See note on ii. 38, for the yet more simple forms probably in use in the Apostolic Age, where 'Christ' is still predicate, not proper name, and implies the essence of the faith confessed.

39. came up out of the water. This implies total or partial immersion as the form of baptism usual in Palestine at this date: cf. also Rom. vi. 4; Col. ii. 12; 1 Pet. iii. 21 (burial and submersion by the Flood being used as types). Yet *Didaché*, vii. 3, allows 'affusion' or pouring as alternative in case of need: 'But if thou hast not either [running water, or again warm water (for the weak)], pour forth water upon the head, thrice.' That is, no one form of the rite was essential.

the Spirit of the Lord caught away Philip. Philip's parting is described in a way that seems influenced by O. T. models, e. g. the case of Elijah, 1 Kings xviii. 12; 2 Kings ii. 16, in both of which passages the phrase 'the spirit of the Lord' is used in a semi-physical sense (cf. Ezek. iii. 12-14, viii. 3, xi. 24).

the eunuch saw him no more, for he went on his way rejoicing. But Philip was found at Azotus: and passing 40
through he preached the gospel to all the cities, till he came to Cæsarea.

But Saul, yet breathing threatening and slaughter 9

So here, too, it seems used in this older sense, as distinct from the more typical N. T. phrases, 'the Holy Spirit,' 'the Spirit of God,' or 'the Spirit' (as in verse 29). In this we may perhaps see the influence of ideas such as we find in the story of *Bel and the Dragon*, 36: 'Then the angel of the Lord took him by the crown, and lifted him up by the hair of his head (cf. Ezek. viii. 3), and with the blast of his breath set him in Babylon.' It is not hard to see how in the story of Philip's departure, if told originally (by himself or his 'prophetic' daughters, xxi. 8 f.) in terms similar to those which describe his meeting with the eunuch (verse 29), the action of 'the Spirit' of God might come to be taken in a more physical sense, as of a mighty wind, already hinted in passages in Ezekiel and combined with angelic agency in *Bel and the Dragon*. Thus the physical miracle implied in the present phrasing may be due to a misunderstanding.

for he went, &c. He had already received through Philip enough to content his soul. Possibly 'so' would bring out the connexion of thought better than 'for.'

40. was found at Azotus: i. e. he re-emerged, in the history as known to others, at Azotus, the Ashdod of 1 Sam. v. 1 ff.

passing through: i. e. with the thoroughness of a missionary tour (see verse 4, ix. 32), a sense emphasized by what follows: 'He proceeded to evangelize the cities, one and all, till he came to Cæsarea.' The cities meant are those of the Maritime Plain, especially the Plain of Sharon (cf. ix. 35)—among them perhaps Lydda and Joppa, see ix. 32, 36. For Cæsarea, on the coast south of Carmel, the official capital of Judæa under the procurators, see x. 1. It is quite likely that the tradition embodied in this chapter and in most of what follows, to xi. 18, took shape in the liberal Jewish Church at Cæsarea, where Philip and his daughters were residing some twenty or more years later (xxi. 8 f.).

The conversion of Saul: his early movements. ix. 1–30.

The narrative now doubles back to record a great turning-point for the gospel as a power in the Roman Empire, the conversion of the arch-persecutor Saul.

ix. 1–9. *Saul's conversion.*

1. For Saul's fanatical zeal, cf. the report of his own speeches in xxii. 4, xxvi. 10 f., chapters which should be compared throughout (with aid of the notes).

against the disciples of the Lord, went unto the high
2 priest, and asked of him letters to Damascus unto the
synagogues, that if he found any that were of the Way,
whether men or women, he might bring them bound to
3 Jerusalem. And as he journeyed, it came to pass that
he drew nigh unto Damascus: and suddenly there shone
4 round about him a light out of heaven: and he fell upon
the earth, and heard a voice saying unto him, Saul, Saul,
5 why persecutest thou me? And he said, Who art thou,
Lord? And he *said*, I am Jesus whom thou persecutest:
6 but rise, and enter into the city, and it shall be told thee

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2. letters to Damascus unto the synagogues. Cf. xxii. 5, xxvi. 12, where also it is assumed that the Sanhedrin had a certain moral authority, short indeed of compulsion, even over Jewish communities outside Palestine, Damascus being described in xxvi. 11 as a foreign city. For its political connexions at the time, see under verse 24.

if he found any that were of the Way. Such indefiniteness suggests that the Christians there were as yet but few, and not organized into a distinct synagogue (cf. the description of Ananias in xxii. 12, as 'well reported of by all the Jews' of Damascus). This commission may have had fugitive Christians from Jerusalem partly in view: cf. xxvi. 11, and note on xxii. 5.

the Way. A highly primitive description of Christianity, and seemingly our author's own phrase; see xix. 9, 23, xxiv. 22. So we talk of a 'Persuasion.' The use of 'Way' for a mode of life (cf. 'this Life,' v. 20) was highly characteristic of Judaism: cf. Matt. vii. 13 f.; John xiv. 6, and the 'Two Ways,' of Life and Death, a collection of maxims found in our *Didaché* and elsewhere.

4. Saul, Saul. It is noteworthy that in the original the Hebrew form of the name (*Saoûl*) is used in direct address to him in all cases (cf. verse 17, xxii. 7, 13, xxvi. 14), a piece of realism probably due to the form in which Luke had heard Paul tell his story, e. g. in xxii.

me: i. e. in my followers: cf. Luke x. 16; Matt. xxv. 40, 45.

5. Who art thou, Lord? A cry of reverence towards the heavenly Speaker, without any clear notion as to the medium through whom the Voice of God (the Rabbinic *Bath Kol*) was uttered.

6. but rise . . ., it shall be told thee what thou must do. In xxii. 10 (though not in xxvi. 16) these words were added in

what thou must do. And the men that journeyed with 7
him stood speechless, hearing the voice, but beholding
no man. And Saul arose from the earth; and when his 8
eyes were opened, he saw nothing; and they led him by
the hand, and brought him into Damascus. And he 9
was three days without sight, and did neither eat nor
drink.

Now there was a certain disciple at Damascus, named 10

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reply to Saul's submissive inquiry, 'What shall I do, Lord?' The fuller form of the injunction there reads, 'Arise, and go into Damascus, and there it shall be told thee of all things which are appointed for thee to do'—referring to his call to be 'a witness unto all men,' to which Ananias alludes a little lower down (xxii. 14 f.). This may be implied in Ananias' interview with Saul in ix. 17–19 (see verse 15): but nothing is there named for him to do, save virtually to accept baptism and filling with Holy Spirit. Luke omits the words less needed here than in xxii.

7. stood speechless. Perhaps they had, like Saul, been struck to the ground by the fierce light (so xxvi. 14), but had risen forthwith, as not being directly affected by what supervened.

hearing the voice, but beholding no man. A different impression would be conveyed by xxii. 9, if taken alone: 'They that were with me beheld indeed the light, but they heard not the voice (*accusative*) of him that spake to me.' When, however, we note that Luke uses different cases of the word 'voice' (*lit.* 'sound') for Saul's own hearing (*accusative*, so in xxii. 14, xxvi. 14) and that of his companions (*genitive*, 'were conscious of a voice,' cf. xxii. 7, of Saul himself), in the same passage, ix. 4, 7, we can hardly doubt that he means by them different things, viz. hearing with, and without, understanding. Similarly, while all saw the light (xxii. 9, cf. xxvi. 14), Saul alone perceived the vision of One amid it, whom he connected with the Voice. The objectivity of the light and the vocal sound is thus implied (as by his blindness, verse 8), but also that they were accompanied by revelation to Saul alone.

9. did neither eat nor drink. Probably outward signs of his deep contrition of soul (cf. verse 18). This verse contains matter not found elsewhere: see also verse 18.

ix. 10–19ª. *The episode of Ananias as medium of a Divine message to Saul.* It appears in a simpler form in Paul's address to the Jews in xxii, but is absent altogether from that before Agrippa at Cæsarea, in xxvi. This shews how little Luke cared for formal

Ananias; and the Lord said unto him in a vision, Ana-
11 nias. And he said, Behold, I *am here*, Lord. And the
Lord *said* unto him, Arise, and go to the street which is
called Straight, and inquire in the house of Judas for one
named Saul, a man of Tarsus: for behold, he prayeth;
12 and he hath seen a man named Ananias coming in, and
laying his hands on him, that he might receive his sight.
13 But Ananias answered, Lord, I have heard from many
of this man, how much evil he did to thy saints at Jeru-
14 salem: and here he hath authority from the chief priests

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harmony in his narrative, where the distinctive emphasis of each situation involved differing perspectives. Some distrust the Ananias episode altogether, pointing to the meaning of the name ('Jehovah has been gracious') and treating the whole story as symbolic legend. This is to go too far, in view of Paul's speech in xxii. 12 f. Yet in view of Paul's silence touching this vision, where it would have added force to his argument (xxii. 13 ff.), we cannot refer Luke's account in all points to Paul's own reminiscences. Indeed, this account of the vision seems so largely built up of matter later recorded as fact (see notes, especially on verse 15), that it appears as if the simple fact that Ananias went to Paul in obedience to what he felt to be a Divine command has become unconsciously expanded to its present form.

11. the street which is called Straight. The main street of Damascus, running east and west, still bears the name. But a more convincing mark of historicity is the specification of Saul's otherwise unknown host, Judas, a detail which can hardly have reached Luke save through Paul's own memory.

12. It must be admitted that this verse comes in strangely, making one man's vision enter into the substance of another's. Further, it seems a needless marvel that Saul should in vision know his unknown visitant's name to be Ananias. Of all this there is no hint in xxii. 12 f. It looks as if Luke inserted these words, as well as what follows, on the strength of the account of Ananias' actual visit to Saul (xxii. 13)—substituting (cf. ix. 17) the words 'laying his hands on him' for 'standing by me' (xxii. 13). The tendency to supplement one account with matter taken from another, is seen at a later stage in the insertion between verses 5 and 6 of words based on xxvi. 14, xxii. 10, which appear in A. V., as in the Vulgate.

13. thy saints at Jerusalem: the first case in Acts of the term

to bind all that call upon thy name. But the Lord said 15
unto him, Go thy way: for he is a chosen vessel unto
me, to bear my name before the Gentiles and kings, and
the children of Israel: for I will shew him how many 16

'saints' for the Christians (elsewhere in verses 32, 41, xxvi. 10). As Israelites were called 'holy' or 'saints,' simply as members of a people holy or devoted to God's ends by solemn covenant (cf. Dan. vii. 18, 22), so with members of the newer and truer Israel of God: cf. *Psalms of Solomon*, xvii. 36, speaking of the expected Messianic age in Israel, 'For all are saints (devoted), and their king is Lord Messiah.' Paul's frequent use of the term, especially in the addresses of his epistles, has the like connotation: e. g. 'called (as) saints' (Rom. i. 7); 'sanctified (made saints) in Christ Jesus' (1 Cor. i. 2). Its occurrence here shews Luke's fine sense of the fitness of language relative to persons and situations, but also that he was familiar with the terminology of early Palestinian Christianity (cf. also verses 14, 21).

14. that call upon thy name. This description of Christian believers (see xxii. 19) recurs in verse 21; cf. xxii. 16, where Ananias bids Saul accept baptism and wash away his sin, 'calling on his name.' The idea of such religious invocation of Jesus as medium of the Messianic salvation, and so as Lord, comes out clearly in Rom. x. 9–13; 1 Cor. i. 2, where 'Jesus is Lord' is the confession in which the believer invokes the protection of Christ's 'name' or Messianic function (see also Acts ii. 21 f., 36, 38). It answers to the phrase 'to be baptized into (or unto) the name' of Jesus as Lord (viii. 16, xix. 5: cf. 1 Cor. i. 13; 2 Tim. ii. 22). A special case of invocation of the covenant Lord is seen in vii. 59, where Stephen dies 'invoking, and saying, Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.'

15. This verse seems based on the substance of xxii. 14 f.

a chosen vessel: *lit.* 'vessel of election,' an Hebraic phrase (cf. viii. 23), denoting God's sovereign use of human instruments: cf. Gal. i. 15; Rom. ix. 22 f. It corresponds to the foreordination referred to in xxii. 14.

the Gentiles and kings, and the children of Israel. More explicit than xxii. 15. The order here is influenced by knowledge of Saul's actual career; contrast xxvi. 17, 'delivering thee from the people (=Jews) and from the Gentiles.' As a matter of fact Saul's ministry was first to the Jew and then to the Greek (see xiii. 46): cf. verses 20, 22, 28 f.

16. will shew: *lit.* 'suggest,' as for another's guidance (cf. Luke iii. 7, vi. 47, xii. 5; Acts xx. 35), the reference being to experiences like xxvi. 16 f., xx. 22 f.

17 things he must suffer for my name's sake. And Ananias
departed, and entered into the house; and laying his
hands on him said, Brother Saul, the Lord, *even* Jesus,
who appeared unto thee in the way which thou camest,
hath sent me, that thou mayest receive thy sight, and be
18 filled with the Holy Ghost. And straightway there fell

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must suffer: emphatic: instead of inflicting suffering on account of the name 'Jesus Messiah' (the thought naturally uppermost in Ananias' mind), Saul was yet to learn to 'suffer' in his devotion to the ministry to which he was elect.

17. laying his hands on him. Here this symbolic act is connected not only with Saul's bodily healing (its primary object, see verses 12, 18, xxii. 13: cf. Luke iv. 40; Mark vi. 5 [xvi. 18]), but also with a coincident spiritual experience. This, no doubt, expresses the Divine ideal of the relation between body and spirit, as constituting a unity of vital well-being (cf. James v. 15) in which the lesser (bodily) benefit is quite incomplete without the greater. The symbolic act itself bodied forth the truth that it was as member of the Messianic society that the blessing in question was vouchsafed to Saul. This is further brought out in xxii. 16, where Ananias bids him make formal profession of his new standing by accepting baptism, and so actively wash away (the force of the middle voice in the verbs used) the stains of his former sinful condition by solemn identification with Messiah, whose name is invoked in baptism. The further and intrinsic sign of Messiah's acceptance of him as a member of his people would be the royal gift of the Holy Spirit (ii. 33, 38; Eph. iv. 8), the experience of 'being filled with Holy Spirit.' Accordingly this is included in the ends of Ananias' coming. The whole spirit of the passage, and yet more decisively the way in which Paul ever repudiated the notion that his apostleship was even by the intervention of (*dia*) man, let alone derived from (*apo*) men (Gal. i. 1), is against making Ananias' part in the matter at all essential to either gift, particularly the more spiritual one. His action is bound up with certain special conditions, as in the case of the Samaritans (viii. 15 f.), where it was important that the relation of the converts to the society should be put into special relief. And it is most instructive that this ministry of Ananias to his new brother had no relation to any formal office in the church possessed by him (his appointment as one of the Seven being of another order).

and be filled with the Holy Ghost: i. e. on accepting baptism: see xxii. 16 and the foregoing note.

from his eyes as it were scales, and he received his sight; and he arose and was baptized; and he took food and 19
was strengthened.

And he was certain days with the disciples which were at Damascus. And straightway in the synagogues he 20

18. as it were scales: i. e. no actual scales fell, but Saul's sensations of returning vision were as if something of the sort had occurred. The exact phrasing of the original is thought to reveal a physician's hand, but the experience thus described could have been known to Luke only from Paul himself: cf. 19[a].

he arose: not perhaps literally, but in the sense of bestirring oneself (cf. viii. 26): see also xxii. 16.

19[a]. and he took food and was strengthened: surely a piece of genuine realism, and not merely a sequel demanded by verse 9, which would not call for reference to his physical state. Another autobiographical touch.

ix. 9[b]–25. *Saul's preaching in Damascus: his flight.*

19[b]. certain days: an indefinite phrase, which, though it often denotes a short period (as in x. 48, xvi. 12, xxiv. 24), need not mean more than that the writer has no very definite period in his own mind (cf. xv. 36). The length of Paul's stay at Damascus is later defined as 'considerable' (verse 23). What part of it was spent by him in 'Arabia' away from the great city, was of no importance in this connexion, and might well be passed over in silence by one who knew of it from private intercourse with Paul, though not by one who knew of it only from the Epistle to the Galatians. For there the *form* of reference (i. 16 ff.) is such as to prevent one *having it in mind* from writing as Luke does here and in the next verse.

20. straightway. This and what follows could not have been written by one who was acquainted with Paul's movements at this epoch only as given in Gal. i. 16 ff., 'Straightway I conferred not with flesh and blood (viz. human teachers): . . . but I went away into Arabia (i.e. Arabia Petræa, the region to the east and south-east of Damascus; see under verse 24); and again I returned unto Damascus. Then after three years (i.e. the third year from his conversion) I went up to Jerusalem to visit Cephas,' &c. It is true that the two narratives may be pieced together, so as to supplement one another fairly well. But the general perspective is so different, that nobody with the one in his mind could have written the other without providing more carefully for the appearance of consistency. The conclusion to be drawn is that verses 19, 20 could not have been written by one who knew Paul's movements merely through his letter (Galatians),

21 proclaimed Jesus, that he is the Son of God. And all
that heard him were amazed, and said, Is not this he that
in Jerusalem made havock of them which called on this
name? and he had come hither for this intent, that he
22 might bring them bound before the chief priests. But Saul
increased the more in strength, and confounded the Jews
which dwelt at Damascus, proving that this is the Christ.

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but only by one who knew them otherwise, and probably from his own conversation (see next note, also that on verse 22).

that he is the Son of God: i.e. in the Messianic sense, as seems clear from verse 22: see Matt. xvi. 16, 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God'; John i. 49, 'Thou art the Son of God; thou art King of Israel'; and cf. Ps. ii. 7, 'Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee' (i.e. by the Divine 'decree' just mentioned)—the 'day,' in Paul's view, being the resurrection, Rom. i. 4; Acts xiii. 33. This, however, is the sole instance in Acts of this title for Messiah. It is natural, then, to suppose that Luke here echoes the language of his informant; and from Gal. i. 15: 'It was the good pleasure of God . . . to reveal His Son in me,' we gather that this was the phrase which Paul himself was wont to use.

21. Here we get the dominant feeling which pervades this account of Saul's conversion, viz. the sense of the Divine power at work in so great a change. It was indeed a crowning triumph of the risen Jesus through the Holy Spirit (cf. verses 13–16); and this was Paul's own tone in speaking of it (Gal. i. 23): cf. next note.

made havock. This forceful expression is also put by Paul himself into the mouth of Judæan Christians touching his former self (Gal. i. 23; cf. verse 13).

22. increased the more in strength, &c.: rather, 'continued to grow more and more in (spiritual) power and to confound.' This implies a certain progress observable in Saul's ministry, the nature of which is hinted in the next clause. In this progress the retirement into 'Arabia' (i. e. the country south and south-east of Damascus) probably marked a stage, being followed by increased cogency of Scriptural argument (due to profound meditation on the Messianic prophecies). Paul's 'straightway' in Gal. i. 16 does not really demand an immediate retirement into Arabia. It refers strictly only to 'I conferred not with flesh and blood' (as to his gospel); and it is only in denying that he went in those early days up to Jerusalem, that he adds 'I went away into Arabia'—quite a different quarter, and one where he was not likely to be learning of others.

proving: 'proving by argument' or inference ('concluding,'

And when many days were fulfilled, the Jews took 23
counsel together to kill him: but their plot became 24
known to Saul. And they watched the gates also day
and night that they might kill him: but his disciples 25
took him by night, and let him down through the wall,
lowering him in a basket.

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xvi. 10), 'deducing' from the correspondence of Messianic prophecy and the facts of Jesus' life and death, that he was demonstrably 'the Christ' (cf. xvii. 3). This represents an advance in argumentative cogency upon the simpler 'heralding,' on his personal testimony, that Jesus was Son of God (verse 20). Such a sense of the progress in Saul's thoughts is surely an authentic touch, and one likely to be caught from no one but himself.

23. many days: *lit.* 'a considerable number of days,' really some two years, reckoning from the conversion (as we learn from Gal. i. 18), though it is doubtful whether Luke was aware of the exact time. For elsewhere he hardly contemplates so long a period when using this phrase (ix. 43, xviii. 18, xxvii. 7; cf. xiv. 3, xxvii. 9).

24. From 2 Cor. xi. 32 we learn that the Jews were supported by the governor (*ethnarch* or *sheik*) representing the Arabian king Aretas, who at the time held sway over Damascus. This fact presents a problem in the chronology of Paul's life, it being generally supposed that Aretas' power in Damascus was by permission of the Romans, and that this was more likely to occur under the Emperor Caligula than under his predecessor Tiberius. If so, Paul's flight must have occurred after A. D. 37, and his conversion as late as A. D. 35. We must then assume that the events of chaps. i–vi. cover a longer period than appears, say five or six years. But in fact our knowledge of the political history of the region involved is too incomplete to warrant any sure inference as to the date at which Damascus came under Aretas' sway: we have no Roman coins of Damascus for some time after 33–34, which would allow of Paul's conversion in 31–32; and there is force in Ramsay's remark that repressive measures at Jerusalem can hardly have been delayed more than two or three years at the utmost—and, he adds, 'we should rather have expected them sooner' (*St. Paul the Traveller*, &c., 377).

25. Cf. 2 Cor. xi. 33, '*through a window* was I let down in a basket by the wall.' Acts here seems independent of 2 Corinthians (the word for 'basket' even being different), though it may well be based on Luke's conversations with Paul. For the method of escape, cf. Joshua ii. 15.

26 And when he was come to Jerusalem, he assayed to
join himself to the disciples: and they were all afraid
27 of him, not believing that he was a disciple. But
Barnabas took him, and brought him to the apostles,
and declared unto them how he had seen the Lord in
the way, and that he had spoken to him, and how at
Damascus he had preached boldly in the name of Jesus.
28 And he was with them going in and going out at Jeru-

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ix. 26-30. *Saul's first visit to Jerusalem as a Christian: he withdraws to Tarsus.* Paul's own account of this visit is found in Gal. i. 18-24. The two accounts are plainly independent, yet not inconsistent (see notes for details). They simply give different sides of a visit which, with a man of Saul's zeal, must have been full and many-sided.

26. not believing that he was a disciple. Another reminder of the tremendous nature of the change from arch-foe to friend, involved in Saul's conversion. Probably the larger part of the two years (more or less) since his conversion was spent in retirement in Arabia (else Paul would hardly have named it at all in such a passage as Gal. i. 17). Thus he had not had time to prove to all his sincerity beyond a doubt. Those at Jerusalem would have only a confused impression of his conversion, followed by a mysterious retirement, his preaching of the Name—perhaps in a rather novel fashion—and then his unexpected appearance in their midst. Not being able to fathom his motives throughout, they may have suspected that it was somehow all a trick.

27. Barnabas took him. That it was Barnabas who took up Saul's case is only what we should expect of such a man (see xi. 24). How he himself came to repose confidence in Saul's genuineness we do not know. He may, as a Cypriot (iv. 36), have had some earlier acquaintance with Saul and believed him incapable of duplicity. But the silence of Acts on any such point suggests that Barnabas' intrinsic character was the main factor in his generous action. Having, then, learned the details of Saul's recent history, probably from his own lips, he brought him 'to the apostles' (only Peter and James the Lord's brother, as we gather from Paul's own reference in Gal. i. 18-20) and recounted to them the whole story. Surely a noble deed, and one of momentous issues (cf. xi. 25 f.). Luke would most naturally learn of it from Paul's own lips.

28. with them going in and going out at Jerusalem: i. e. in intimate daily intercourse (cf. i. 21) with the apostolic circle, in particular. Observe the absence of all suggestion that 'the

salem, preaching boldly in the name of the Lord: and he 29
spake and disputed against the Grecian Jews; but they
went about to kill him. And when the brethren knew 30
it, they brought him down to Cæsarea, and sent him
forth to Tarsus.

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apostles' did more than recognize Saul's brotherhood in Christ. There is here no support for the idea that Acts views Paul's apostleship as dependent or secondary as compared with the Twelve. 'He had seen the Lord in the way,' and was duly empowered as a 'witness' (cf. verses 15 f., xxvi. 16).

29. Of such ministry in Jerusalem, Gal. i. 18 ff. certainly gives no hint. Yet the brevity of the visit, to which it alludes as occupying but a fortnight, rather suggests some special reason for departure such as is here given. That he should try to reach the Hellenists, with whom he had so many points of contact, was most natural: nor is a short ministry among them excluded by Paul's statement that he remained after his visit 'unknown by face unto the churches of Judæa which were in Christ'—provided that it was confined to Jerusalem, and was cut short prematurely. It is, moreover, confirmed by the indirect witness of xxii. 17 f., where in a trance in the temple (apparently on this visit) Saul is bidden by his Lord to get quickly out of Jerusalem, 'because they will not receive of thee testimony concerning me.' Cf. 1 Thess. ii. 15, where, speaking of the Judæan Jews, he says, 'who both killed the Lord Jesus and the prophets, and drave out us.'

30. the brethren: here used, instead of 'disciples,' to suggest their now brotherly attitude to him.

brought him down: i. e. to the sea-board, from the capital.

to Cæsarea, . . . to Tarsus. This route, seemingly by sea to Cilicia, is not in formal accord with Paul's own words in Gal. i. 21, 'Then I came into the regions of Syria and Cilicia.' But Paul is speaking in general terms; to cover a long period between visits to Jerusalem. The mention of Syria before Cilicia is due not only to the greater importance of the former, but also to the fact that the two formed a single Roman administrative province. That Paul should retire to Tarsus, to spread among his kindred the glad news that Messiah was come, has intrinsic likelihood: but it is the sort of information which, as personal in scope, would hardly reach our author save in intercourse with Paul himself.

31. Another of our author's summaries, marking continued advance (cf. vi. 7, xii. 24). The Church or *ecclēsia* of God's elect is no longer localized in Jerusalem (viii. 1), but is spread throughout Palestine proper, the Holy Land. Its divisions, Judæa, Galilee,

31 So the church throughout all Judæa and Galilee and Samaria had peace, being edified; and, walking in the fear of the Lord and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, was multiplied.

32 And it came to pass, as Peter went throughout

Samaria, are named in order of importance. But the new *ecclēsia* remains essentially one, as was ancient Israel.

So. Persecution died away after the conversion of the arch-persecutor.

Galilee. The sole reference in Acts to Christians in this region, where Jesus had received most welcome. A clear proof of the selective purpose at work in the book. No special matter of principle was involved in the gospel's spread in Galilee.

being edified, or 'built up,' in the metaphorical sense frequent in Paul, perhaps a phrase caught by our author from his lips: cf. also 1 Pet. ii. 5, 'ye also, as living stones, are built up a spiritual house.'

in the fear of the Lord: i. e. the reverent concern for the Divine will characteristic of Hebrew religion in general, but here directed specially to the lordship of Christ. This states one secret of the church's progress, its serious loyalty to its risen Head. The other side of the one vital fact was the heartening enthusiasm felt by all, viewed as the answering gift of the Spirit, in and through which the Lord co-operated with his people on earth (i. 1, ii. 33). The idea of 'comfort,' i. e. strengthening of soul, is just that expressed by the title of the Holy Spirit in John xiv. 16 ff., the Comforter (Lat. *confortare*, to strengthen) or Supporter (as at law), in whose presence Jesus himself was again to be present (xiv. 16, 18).

Episodes illustrative of Peter's Divinely aided and guided ministry, at this epoch, in the extension of the church outside Jerusalem. ix. 32-43.

ix. 32-35. *The healing of Æneas at Lydda, and its effects.* This narrative, like its fellow (36-43) and the related x. 1-xi. 18, probably rests on information furnished by Philip, who was closely connected with this region (see viii. 40). It looks as if our author here draws on notes taken during his visits to Cæsarea (see xxi. 8, xxiii. 33). Thus the description of Christians as 'saints' (a conception Hebraic in origin, see ix. 13; cf. xxvi. 10) is found in narrative only here in Acts (verses 32, 41).

32. as Peter went throughout all parts: see note on viii. 40. This passing reference to a wide missionary and supervisory activity of Peter throughout Palestine (cf. verse 31) seems a true

all parts, he came down also to the saints which dwelt at Lydda. And there he found a certain man 33 named Æneas, which had kept his bed eight years; for he was palsied. And Peter said unto him, Æneas, Jesus 34 Christ healeth thee: arise, and make thy bed. And straightway he arose. And all that dwelt at Lydda and 35 in Sharon saw him, and they turned to the Lord.

Now there was at Joppa a certain disciple named 36 Tabitha, which by interpretation is called Dorcas: this woman was full of good works and almsdeeds which she did. And it came to pass in those days, that she fell 37 sick, and died: and when they had washed her, they

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touch, and points to a knowledge of more than the few typical instances given.

Lydda: the Lod of 1 Chron. viii. 12, a large village on the road from Jerusalem to Joppa, reached soon after one exchanges the rolling slopes of the Judæan highlands for the Maritime Plain.

33. Æneas: a Hellenistic Jew, to judge from the name: he does not seem to have been a believer, but probably had friends among the Saints who interested Peter in his case. Luke's eye for the medical aspect of things seems visible in the reference to the length of his illness (see iv. 22, cf. Luke xiii. 11).

35. in Sharon: 'the Level,' i. e. the whole region of the Maritime Plain between Carmel and Joppa (Isa. xxxiii. 9), on the borders of which Lydda lay. Of this region Luke would gain knowledge during his presence with Paul at Cæsarea (xxvii. 1).

all . . . saw him, and they turned to the Lord: a broad popular statement, indicating wide and general acceptance of Jesus as Messiah in the region (see verse 42).

ix. 36–43. *The raising of Tabitha at Joppa.*

36. Joppa (now Jaffa): the seaport, as it were, of Jerusalem. Since the Maccabean era it had strong Jewish sympathies.

Tabitha: the Aramaic for 'gazelle,' the meaning also of the Greek *dorcas* (with special reference to its bright eyes). The reference to her good works as consisting specially in almsdeeds (cf. x. 2) gives a true glimpse of the Jewish ideal of piety.

37. and when they had washed her, &c. A piece of realism illustrative at once of Jewish (and Greek) usage, and of the excellent information possessed by our author. The object of this laying out was perhaps to make sure that death had occurred.

38 laid her in an upper chamber. And as Lydda was nigh
unto Joppa, the disciples, hearing that Peter was there,
sent two men unto him, intreating him, Delay not to
39 come on unto us. And Peter arose and went with them.
And when he was come, they brought him into the
upper chamber: and all the widows stood by him weep-
ing, and shewing the coats and garments which Dorcas
40 made, while she was with them. But Peter put them all
forth, and kneeled down, and prayed; and turning to
the body, he said, Tabitha, arise. And she opened her
41 eyes; and when she saw Peter, she sat up. And he gave
her his hand, and raised her up; and calling the saints
42 and widows, he presented her alive. And it became
known throughout all Joppa: and many believed on the
43 Lord. And it came to pass, that he abode many days
in Joppa with one Simon a tanner.

38. Did they feel that in the case of a life which could so ill be spared, something unusual was not out of the question?

39. and all the widows, &c. The preservation of this vivid picture, as it had left its impress on an eye-witness, is probably due to our author's marked feeling for womanhood, and particularly widowhood, visible in his gospel (i, ii. 37, iv. 26, vii. 12, 37 ff., viii. 2, x. 38 ff., xviii. 3 ff., xxi. 2 f., xxiii. 28), as well as in Acts (i. 14, vi. 1, viii. 3, 12, ix. 2, xii. 12, xiii. 50, xvi. 13 f., xvii. 4, 12, 34, xviii. 2, 26, xxi. 5). Whether 'the widows' were *protégées* or rather helpers of Dorcas in her benevolent industry, is not quite clear.

coats and garments: rather, 'under-garments (close fitting tunics) and outer robes' (of the loose Oriental type).

40. put them all forth: not the women only (who in the East are distractingly demonstrative in their grief) but people in general (except, perhaps, one or two of the relations, after his Master's example, Mark v. 40; Luke viii. 51). He contemplated nothing by way of display, but simply sought his Lord's face in humblest prayer (cf. vii. 60 for the posture). All the details in this and the next verse are both vivid and appropriate.

43. many days: the word rendered 'many' really means 'sufficient,' 'considerable,' and so is dependent on the context for its exact shade of meaning (cf. ix. 23). Here a colloquial phrase like 'a fair number of days' would perhaps give the sense.

with one Simon a tanner: another realistic detail. Some

Now *there was* a certain man in Cæsarea, Cornelius **10**
by name, a centurion of the band called the Italian band,
a devout man, and one that feared God with all his **2**

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see special significance in the reference to Simon's trade, since tanning (as involving contact with dead animals) was held by strict Jewish opinion to be an 'unclean' avocation. But, apart from the doubt whether Peter, the Galilean fisherman, would ever have shared this scruple, our author can hardly have expected his Gentile readers to catch the point without further elucidation. Nor does Peter's tone in x. 14 support the idea that he was already waiving any old scruples that he once had. The detail is added to avoid confusion between the two Simons in x. 5 f.

The admission by Peter of certain Gentiles, and its significance. x. 1—xi. 18.

The importance attaching to this incident in Acts is obvious from the space given to it, the discussion upon it in xi. 1–18, and the later reference in xv. 7 ff. Its exact significance is discussed in the notes. Its date is comparatively early, to judge from the phrase 'early days' applied to it in Peter's speech in xv. 7.

x. 1–8. *Cornelius and his Divinely prepared readiness for the Word.*

1. a centurion of the band called the Italian band: i.e. one of the six centurions belonging to the section of a legion known as a cohort (cf. xxi. 31). The exact meaning and historic value of this description have been much debated. But the likelihood of an Italic cohort, i.e. one composed originally of Roman citizens from Italy itself (and not of provincials), being stationed in Palestine about this time, is proved by an inscription which evidences the existence of such a cohort in Syria in A. D. 69 (see *Expositor*, Jan. 1897). Perhaps such a specially Roman body of troops was attached to the person of the procurator: compare the cohort stationed in Pilate's official quarters in Jerusalem (Mark xv. 16). As Cornelius seems to have had a settled household and an honourable record for piety (verses 2, 22), he must have been resident for some years at least in Palestine, and cannot have been on detached service at the time, as Julius in xxvii. 1 probably was. On the other hand, it is not safe to infer, from the mention of his kinsmen (verse 24), that he was of Palestinian birth. The whole suggestion of the narrative is that he was a thorough Gentile, and indeed an Italian.

2. What is said of Cornelius here and in verse 22 strongly recalls the centurion of Luke vii. 2–5. He was clearly one of those half-proselytes who worshipped the God of Israel without becoming a member of the Jewish people by circumcision (cf. xiii. 16, 26, xvii. 4, 17). Thus the importance of the incident lay in the

house, who gave much alms to the people, and prayed
3 to God alway. He saw in a vision openly, as it were
about the ninth hour of the day, an angel of God
coming in unto him, and saying to him, Cornelius.
4 And he, fastening his eyes upon him, and being affrighted,
said, What is it, Lord? And he said unto him, Thy
prayers and thine alms are gone up for a memorial before

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fact that it was the first case in which the relative or non-essential nature of this national rite and badge—the middle-wall of partition between the Covenant people and others—was made plain, even within Palestine itself, by a Divine interposition which overruled the prior scruples of Peter and the other leaders of the original Ecclesia or New Israel. Here we see Peter, the representative of the older apostles, using the key of the Kingdom to formally (i.e. by baptism) open the door—already actually opened by God (in the gift of the Holy Spirit)—to a new class, just as he had done in Samaria (ch. viii). It must, no doubt, have made it easier for him to follow the Divine leading in this case, that the Gentiles in question were in conduct largely detached from heathen society and its ways, and assimilated to Judaism. Yet Gentiles they were (verses 28, 45) and no true proselytes: and the momentous principle involved could not be mistaken (xi. 18). We have no right, however, to assume that Peter and his associates would view the relaxation of strict principle as normal rather than exceptional—a temporary concession to specially worthy souls (verse 35) in the short transition period before Messiah's personal return: and it is doubtful whether they would feel free to baptize any uncircumcised person unless the Divine tokens of acceptance had in each case pointed the way. Of the wide extension of the broad principle at Antioch and in the Pauline missions, there was as yet no presentiment.

who gave much alms to the people, and prayed to God alway. 'The people' of course means the Jewish people.

Observe the emphasis laid on his typically Jewish piety here and in verses 4, 22, bringing home the idea that he was virtually already 'an Israelite indeed' in heart. This method of progress, through exceptional cases to principle, through practical exigency to theory, is true to experience in all ages.

3. as it were about the ninth hour. This particularity, for which there seems no special motive in the story itself (save that it was one of the regular Jewish hours of prayer, iii. 1), points to intimate knowledge (cf. verse 6).

4. are gone up: as a sacrifice of sweet savour (Ps. cxli. 2;

God. And now send men to Joppa, and fetch one Simon, 5
who is surnamed Peter: he lodgeth with one Simon 6
a tanner, whose house is by the sea side. And when 7
the angel that spake unto him was departed, he called
two of his household-servants, and a devout soldier of
them that waited on him continually; and having re- 8
hearsed all things unto them, he sent them to Joppa.

Now on the morrow, as they were on their journey, 9
and drew nigh unto the city, Peter went up upon the
housetop to pray, about the sixth hour: and he became 10
hungry, and desired to eat: but while they made ready,
he fell into a trance; and he beholdeth the heaven 11
opened, and a certain vessel descending, as it were
a great sheet, let down by four corners upon the earth:
wherein were all manner of fourfooted beasts and creeping 12
things of the earth and fowls of the heaven. And there 13

Heb. xiii. 15; Phil. iv. 18). See also Lev. ii. 2, 9, 16 for certain oblations as remembrancers, as it were, for a man with God.

5. one Simon, who is surnamed Peter. So marked out, for a stranger, from among other Simons, e.g. his host, the tanner.

6. whose house is by the sea side. Probably for the purposes of his trade, and to be outside the city proper, tanning being held 'unclean.' But the mention of this detail is not needful to the story, and so points to intimate local knowledge.

7. a devout soldier of them that waited on him continually. A trusty orderly, in constant attendance on his superior (cf. the centurion's words in Luke vii. 8), bound to him too by the bond of a common piety—a lifelike touch, for which many parallels could be adduced. Perhaps he was sent as escort for the two domestics. This may explain the reading of the Vatican MS. in verse 19, '*two* men seek thee' (the escort not actually going to the house). In the more summary account in xi. 11, three men are alluded to.

x. 9–16. *The Divine preparation of Peter.*

9. The time allowed, viz. till about midday following, suits the distance (some thirty miles). The housetop, too, as a favourite Oriental resort for prayer, is a genuine touch.

12. of the earth . . . of the heaven. These additions to the

14 came a voice to him, Rise, Peter; kill and eat. But
Peter said, Not so, Lord; for I have never eaten anything
15 that is common and unclean. And a voice *came* unto
him again the second time, What God hath cleansed,
16 make not thou common. And this was done thrice:
and straightway the vessel was received up into heaven.
17 Now while Peter was much perplexed in himself what
the vision which he had seen might mean, behold, the
men that were sent by Cornelius, having made inquiry
18 for Simon's house, stood before the gate, and called and
asked whether Simon, which was surnamed Peter, were
19 lodging there. And while Peter thought on the vision,
the Spirit said unto him, Behold, three men seek thee.
20 But arise, and get thee down, and go with them, nothing
21 doubting: for I have sent them. And Peter went down
to the men, and said, Behold, I am he whom ye seek:
22 what is the cause wherefore ye are come? And they
said, Cornelius a centurion, a righteous man and one

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words in question (as compared e.g. with Rom. i. 23), savour of LXX usage, whether they point to a source used by Luke or represent instinctive adoption of its style in telling a Jewish story. So for 'there came a voice to him' cf. Gen. xv. 4.

14. The impulsive 'Say not so, Lord,' is like the Peter of John xiii. 8; Matt. xvi. 22.

common and unclean: i. e. ritually, as defined by Mosaic law: see Mark vii. 2 ff., a passage which fully illustrates the present one.

15. hath cleansed: i. e. ruled to be no longer unclean; cf. Mark vii. 19, 'This he said, making all meats clean' (*lit.* 'cleansing'): see also xv. 9.

16. thrice: to impress the moral.

x. 17–33. *The bringing together of Peter and Cornelius.*

17 f. having made inquiry, &c. The Greek is here more realistic: 'having made diligent inquiry . . . arrived at the gateway (leading by a passage into the inner court, cf. xii. 13 f.), and, calling out, asked,' &c.

19. the Spirit said. Cf. viii. 29 for this unusual expression.

three men. See note on verse 7.

that feareth God, and well reported of by all the nation of the Jews, was warned *of God* by a holy angel to send for thee into his house, and to hear words from thee. So he called them in and lodged them. 23

And on the morrow he arose and went forth with them, and certain of the brethren from Joppa accompanied him. And on the morrow they entered into Cæsarea. And 24 Cornelius was waiting for them, having called together his kinsmen and his near friends. And when it came to 25 pass that Peter entered, Cornelius met him, and fell down at his feet, and worshipped him. But Peter raised him 26 up, saying, Stand up; I myself also am a man. And as 27 he talked with him, he went in, and findeth many come together: and he said unto them, Ye yourselves know 28 how that it is an unlawful thing for a man that is a Jew to join himself or come unto one of another nation; and *yet* unto me hath God shewed that I should not call any

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22. well reported of by all the nation of the Jews: cf. the Jews' witness to the centurion in Luke vii. 4 f., 'for he loveth our nation, and himself built us our synagogue.' Perhaps 'people' (as in viii. 9, 'the people of Samaria') would here be a better rendering than 'nation'; and the messengers may only have meant 'the whole Jewish folk' in Cæsarea. Otherwise it is a popular way of expressing the more than local repute of Cornelius' piety.

23. certain of the brethren. Apparently six in number (xi. 12).

25. worshipped him. The word does not necessarily express more than an act of profound homage: cf. its use in Gen. xxiii. 7, 12 (LXX); Matt. xviii. 26, and our use of the phrase 'your Worship.' But Peter seems to have felt the reverence implied excessive, to judge from his words of protest.

28. to join himself: i.e. in close intimacy, so that the following words 'or come unto' here = 'come under the roof of' as he himself was doing. Such restriction of intercourse was enjoined only by the Law as expounded and developed by tradition: but in Palestine at least it was probably believed on all sides to be essential to that separateness from the Unclean which befitted the Holy People of Jehovah; cf. John xviii. 28.

29 man common or unclean: wherefore also I came without
gainsaying, when I was sent for. I ask therefore with
30 what intent ye sent for me. And Cornelius said, Four
days ago, until this hour, I was keeping the ninth hour of
prayer in my house; and behold, a man stood before me
31 in bright apparel, and saith, Cornelius, thy prayer is heard,
and thine alms are had in remembrance in the sight of
32 God. Send therefore to Joppa, and call unto thee Simon,
who is surnamed Peter; he lodgeth in the house of
33 Simon a tanner, by the sea side. Forthwith therefore
I sent to thee; and thou hast well done that thou art
come. Now therefore we are all here present in the sight
of God, to hear all things that have been commanded thee
34 of the Lord. And Peter opened his mouth, and said,

Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of
35 persons: but in every nation he that feareth him, and
36 worketh righteousness, is acceptable to him. The word

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30. Four days ago: i.e. according to the Jewish method of reckoning in the extremes.

x. 34-48. *Peter's address to Cornelius and his friends: its issue.* This speech is valuable as a sample of primitive preaching in the historic manner, on lines akin to the Petrine Gospel of Mark.

34. no respecter of persons: i.e. according to birth or outward condition: cf. Deut. x. 17; Luke xx. 21.

35. he that feareth him: i.e. as the true God, as revealed in Israel's Law—to which also the righteousness in question is in substance relative. The sentiment of this verse is quite in keeping with certain parts of the O. T. prophets.

36-38. The construction here is obscure, though the sense remains fairly plain. There is strong, but not conclusive, MSS. evidence for the omission of 'which' after 'the word.' But this does not improve, but rather breaks, the connexion of thought with what precedes, which lies in the words 'ye yourselves know' (cf. verse 28). The thing known is forced into the front for emphasis, and so needs to be resumed afresh and more explicitly in verse 37. But the sentence remains overloaded on account of the parenthesis 'he is Lord of all,' which comes in very

which he sent unto the children of Israel, preaching good tidings of peace by Jesus Christ (he is Lord of all)— that saying ye yourselves know, which was published 37 throughout all Judæa, beginning from Galilee, after the baptism which John preached; *even* Jesus of Nazareth, 38 how that God anointed him with the Holy Ghost and with power: who went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed of the devil; for God was with

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awkwardly at this stage, anticipating what gradually emerges later on (verses 42, 43). It may have originated as a marginal note, which suited later taste as at once introducing the moral of the address and so crept gradually into the text in all existing copies. Its inclusion would lead naturally to the omission from certain MSS. of 'which' (alluded to above), the better to make room for the interloping clause.

36. the word: i. e. the gospel message as a whole.

37. that saying ye yourselves know: rather, 'ye yourselves know the story of what has taken place.' For the meaning thus put upon the Greek usually translated 'saying' or 'word,' but here representing a peculiar use of the Hebrew equivalent (*dabar*), see Luke ii. 15, and perhaps Acts v. 32.

Judæa: here = Palestine, as is clear from 'all.'

beginning from Galilee, after, &c. This definition of the earlier limit of Christ's public ministry corresponds closely to the opening of Mark's Gospel.

38. even **Jesus of Nazareth, how,** &c. Here the name of Jesus is placed first for emphasis (cf. 'the word' in verse 36), as in apposition to 'the word' or history of the preceding verse. Here it is *lit.* 'Jesus the one from Nazareth,' not 'the Nazaræan' as in more Jewish contexts, e. g. ii. 22.

God anointed him, &c.: i. e. made him His Messiah or Anointed One (see Mark viii. 29). The moment specially in view is the Baptism (Luke iii. 22; cf. Matt. xvi. 16), after which we read of Jesus as 'full of the Holy Spirit,' as returning 'in the power of the Spirit unto Galilee,' and as appropriating the great Messianic passage in Isa. lxi. 1 f. (Luke iv. 1, 14, 18 f.). With this description in primitive Messianic terms cf. iv. 27.

doing good, and healing all that were oppressed of the devil. Just the conception of Christ's ministry set before us in the Gospels of Mark and Luke in particular: cf. Luke xiii. 16, 'whom Satan hath bound, lo, these eighteen years.'

for God was with him: a comment meant to bring home to Gentiles the significance of Christ's deeds of power.

39 him. And we are witnesses of all things which he did
both in the country of the Jews, and in Jerusalem; whom
40 also they slew, hanging him on a tree. Him God raised
41 up the third day, and gave him to be made manifest, not
to all the people, but unto witnesses that were chosen
before of God, *even* to us, who did eat and drink with
42 him after he rose from the dead. And he charged us
to preach unto the people, and to testify that this is he
which is ordained of God *to be* the Judge of quick and
43 dead. To him bear all the prophets witness, that through
his name every one that believeth on him shall receive
remission of sins.

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39. hanging him on a tree: cf. v. 30, with allusion to Deut. xxi. 22 f.

41. who did eat, &c.: rather, 'men who did eat,' &c., introducing an element in their qualification as witnesses: see Luke xxiv. 41-43, though even there nothing is said of drinking (cf. John xxi. 13; Ignatius, *ad Smyrn.* iii. 3).

42. And he charged us: the subject is still God, as is shewn by the message, viz. 'this (one) is the one ordained of God judge of living and dead,' words which moreover do not reproduce any utterance of the risen Christ in the gospels. Of course it is not meant that God's charge reached them otherwise than in Christ himself. The point is that their commission was of Divine origin and authority. 'Jesus the judge of men' sounds an adaptation of the gospel to Gentile hearers, as in Paul's speech at Athens, xvii. 31 (cf. 1 Pet. iv. 5). Yet it is to be noted that even here it is to 'the (Jewish) People' that the proclamation (the idea of 'preach') is to be made. There is in this address no *formal* offer of the gospel to Gentiles as such (not even in the next verse).

43. Here, in contrast to verse 42, we get echoes of Luke xxiv. 44, 46 f. The reference to 'the prophets' is rather broadly made, Isa. liii. being perhaps the passage specially in view (cf. 1 Pet. ii. 24 f.).

every one that believeth. This statement of a forgiveness coextensive with faith does not imply the full Pauline Gospel to the Gentiles. For the context shews that Peter had no expectation that his hearers could believe in a saving sense, i. e. so as to receive the gift of the Spirit, the token of forgiveness and acceptance, without first accepting circumcision. He and his friends were amazed at what followed. But, as Peter said later (xi. 17,

While Peter yet spake these words, the Holy Ghost fell 44
on all them which heard the word. And they of the 45
circumcision which believed were amazed, as many as
came with Peter, because that on the Gentiles also was
poured out the gift of the Holy Ghost. For they heard 46
them speak with tongues, and magnify God. Then 47
answered Peter, Can any man forbid the water, that these
should not be baptized, which have received the Holy
Ghost as well as we? And he commanded them to be 48
baptized in the name of Jesus Christ. Then prayed they
him to tarry certain days.

Now the apostles and the brethren that were in Judæa 11
heard that the Gentiles also had received the word of

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xv. 8, 9), he could not resist God's sovereign action, with all it involved: hence his submission in verse 47.

45. they of the circumcision which believed. A phrase chosen to hint the point on which their amazement turned, viz. the rite which was thought to mark off the 'clean' from the 'unclean': and yet God had given that gift which Jews believed could not be given to the 'unclean'—'having cleansed their hearts by faith' (xv. 9).

47. The substance of membership in the Holy Ecclesia being present, the form of entrance could not be withheld.

as well as we: this shews what was considered the essence of the Spirit's gifts at Pentecost, whatever the special features which the tradition as to that great outpouring, as it reached our author, might contain.

48. Peter, like Paul at Corinth (1 Cor. i. 17), left the actual administration of baptism to assistants. The higher ministry was to judge of the spiritual fitness of the recipients (cf. John xx. 22 f.).

to tarry certain days: i. e. as their guest, to judge from xi. 3: cf. his first instinct to associate on equal terms with Gentile brethren at Antioch (Gal. ii. 11 f.).

xi. 1–18. *Peter's action challenged: his successful defence.*

1. the Gentiles. Though Cornelius, and probably his close friends (x. 24) as a class, represented in Jewish eyes an exceptionally good type of Gentile, yet they were after all nothing but Gentiles, because uncircumcised. And so it is to their broad status as such, that attention is limited in the discussion of principle (cf. verses 3, 18).

2 God. And when Peter was come up to Jerusalem, they
3 that were of the circumcision contended with him, saying,
Thou wentest in to men uncircumcised, and didst eat
4 with them. But Peter began, and expounded *the matter*
5 unto them in order, saying, I was in the city of Joppa
praying: and in a trance I saw a vision, a certain vessel
descending, as it were a great sheet let down from heaven
6 by four corners; and it came even unto me: upon the
which when I had fastened mine eyes, I considered, and
saw the fourfooted beasts of the earth and wild beasts
7 and creeping things and fowls of the heaven. And
I heard also a voice saying unto me, Rise, Peter; kill

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2. they that were of the circumcision: i. e. believing Jews, perhaps of a stricter type than the apostles, who were Galilæans in training and came from the humbler walks of life, and so were less apt to stickle for legal precision (cf. Mark vii. 1 ff., the matter of hand-washing before meals). It is most unlikely that Peter's fellow disciples, so far as present in Jerusalem, would challenge his action publicly, rather than confer with him privately on the matter: and our narrative seems carefully to avoid connecting them with the critics. Cf. xv. 5, 'certain of the sect of the Pharisees who believed.'

3. Observe the point complained of, Peter's undue familiarity of intercourse with 'men uncircumcised.' This ignores all ostensible right on the part of the men in question to be considered Christians or in any way different from their fellow Gentiles—as if Peter had had no special reason for his action during his stay with them. Note too the apparent *animus* of the phrase here used to describe those elsewhere called simply 'Gentiles.'

4-17. This speech, re-telling the substance of chap. x, bears more marks of Luke's own style. Thus we get the Lucan 'fastening' of the eyes, and the addition of 'and wild beasts,' in verse 6: a Hebraism found in x. 14 (elsewhere in Luke only in Luke i. 37) drops out in verse 8; 'nothing doubting,' of x. 20, reappears in verse 12 as 'making no distinction' (another form of the same verb); the added words in verse 14, 'whereby thou shalt be saved, thou and all thy house,' are strongly Lucan; and finally we get in verse 13, '*the* angel,' though no angel has been named in this summary—Luke counting on his readers' knowledge of chap. x.

and eat. But I said, Not so, Lord: for nothing common 8
or unclean hath ever entered into my mouth. But a voice 9
answered the second time out of heaven, What God hath
cleansed, make not thou common. And this was done 10
thrice: and all were drawn up again into heaven. And 11
behold, forthwith three men stood before the house in
which we were, having been sent from Cæsarea unto me.
And the Spirit bade me go with them, making no dis- 12
tinction. And these six brethren also accompanied me;
and we entered into the man's house: and he told us 13
how he had seen the angel standing in his house, and
saying, Send to Joppa, and fetch Simon, whose surname
is Peter; who shall speak unto thee words, whereby thou 14
shalt be saved, thou and all thy house. And as I began 15
to speak, the Holy Ghost fell on them, even as on us
at the beginning. And I remembered the word of the 16
Lord, how that he said, John indeed baptized with
water; but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost.
If then God gave unto them the like gift as *he did* also 17
unto us, when we believed on the Lord Jesus Christ, who
was I, that I could withstand God? And when they 18
heard these things, they held their peace, and glorified
God, saying, Then to the Gentiles also hath God granted
repentance unto life.

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12. these six brethren. This number, in place of the vaguer 'certain of the brethren' (x. 23), is perhaps introduced here because emphasis is now being laid on the witnesses supporting Peter's story.

16. This verse, which helps to clinch the appeal in verse 17, quotes again what has been quoted in i. 5.

17. when we believed: *lit.* 'believing,' i. e. 'on the basis of belief'—a qualification which may go with 'them' as well as with 'us.' In this verse the moral is brought out yet more forcibly than in x. 47.

18. In the light of subsequent events we may doubt whether the acquiescence of the objectors is not here put rather too broadly.

19 They therefore that were scattered abroad upon the tribulation that arose about Stephen travelled as far as Phœnicia, and Cyprus, and Antioch, speaking the word

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They probably assumed that such believing Gentiles would go on to accept circumcision—the ideal of the Judaizers against whom Paul writes in Galatians: see Gal. iii. 3, where he ridicules the folly of thinking that circumcision was needful for the perfecting of a Gentile who had 'begun in the Spirit' (as Cornelius had done). Further, they did not dream that this class of believers would ever be more than a small minority, hanging upon the skirts of the Palestinian Ecclesia—exceptions to be tolerated amid the mass of normal members. They did not realize how differently the principle, 'the Spirit's blessing apart from circumcision,' would work out beyond Palestine. When they did, some began to change their tone and insist on the acceptance of the national rite and its obligations as the condition of sharing in Israel's Messianic salvation. Such an attitude may not be very logical: but it would be very like actual human nature, as history has often proved since then. It was not every one who, like Paul, saw in particular cases all that was involved in principle.

Such a view of the case has the merit of leading naturally up to the crisis in chap. xv, when the logical issues became plain. Meantime our writer supplies the stages in the logic of events which put the principle of the salvation of Gentiles (as such) in quite a new light.

The limits of the Palestinian Ecclesia transcended in the birth of the Antiochene Ecclesia. xi. 19–26.

This narrative overlaps in time with that just set forth. How much we cannot say. The preaching of verse 20 may have been some time in bearing sufficient fruit to attract attention in Jerusalem. In any case verse 22 follows rather than precedes xi. 1–18.

19. This verse takes up in so many words the story outlined in viii. 4, and of which certain typical episodes in connexion with Philip the Evangelist have already been given. It is taken up from the other end, so to speak, i. e. from the point of view of an observer outside Palestine, in fact at Antioch.

as far as Phœnicia, and Cyprus: see xv. 3 and xxi. 16, respectively, for hints bearing on these fields. Phœnicia was the long strip of level country between the range of Lebanon and the sea, lying north-west of Galilee and containing Tyre and Sidon. The great island of Cyprus lay to the north-west of Phœnicia, midway between it and the southern coast of Asia Minor. Antioch, on the river Orontes (some fifteen miles from its port Seleucia), lay to the

to none save only to Jews. But there were some of them, 20
men of Cyprus and Cyrene, who, when they were come
to Antioch, spake unto the Greeks also, preaching the
Lord Jesus. And the hand of the Lord was with them: 21
and a great number that believed turned unto the Lord.
And the report concerning them came to the ears of 22
the church which was in Jerusalem: and they sent forth
Barnabas as far as Antioch: who, when he was come, 23
and had seen the grace of God, was glad; and he

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very north of Syria, not far from the southern border of Cilicia, which with it formed one huge Roman province. It was not only the seat of the imperial legate of Syria-Cilicia (who had large oversight of the eastern borders of the Empire), but was at this time one of the very greatest and most cosmopolitan cities of antiquity. When the gospel entered Antioch, it entered the full current of life in the Roman Empire.

to none save only to Jews: i. e. to the circumcized. This is the point on which notice has already become concentrated. As the preachers were largely Jews of Greek training (Hellenists, like the Cypriots and Cyrenians of verse 20), so would be many of their hearers outside Palestine proper. This is of importance in relation to the meaning of the advance noted in verse 20.

20. spake unto the Greeks also: obviously a new departure. This, in contrast to verse 19 (see note), demands the reading 'the Greeks,' rather than 'Grecian Jews' (=Hellenists, the strongly supported reading given in the margin). Hellenists and Hebrews may be contrasted (as in vi. 1) as two species of the genus Jew; but 'Jews and Hellenists' is as poor an antithesis as 'English and Colonials.'

22. they sent forth Barnabas. Note (1) it is an act of the church as a whole, and not merely of apostles; (2) in contrast to viii. 14, none of the apostles is sent—probably they still conceived Palestine to be their special sphere; (3) a man of Barnabas' wide sympathies was sent—a fact bearing on the prevalent temper of the Jerusalem Church at this time, and tending to confirm the account in xi. 1–18.

23. Barnabas, himself a Cypriot, was likely to take the same view as his fellow Cypriots, who had helped to begin the movement. 'The grace of God' which he 'saw' probably denotes the manifest gifts of the Spirit, as in x. 45 f., Gal. iii. 5—proofs which he would report to the Jerusalem Church as being of the genuine order, and so decisive of God's favour.

exhorted them all, that with purpose of heart they would
24 cleave unto the Lord: for he was a good man, and full
of the Holy Ghost and of faith: and much people was
25 added unto the Lord. And he went forth to Tarsus to
26 seek for Saul: and when he had found him, he brought
him unto Antioch. And it came to pass, that even for a
whole year they were gathered together with the church,
and taught much people; and that the disciples were
called Christians first in Antioch.

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that with purpose of heart, &c. The reading of the margin = 'to abide by the purpose of their heart in the Lord' (i. e. in reliance on the Lord's working in their souls) is preferable.

24. This verse explains partly Barnabas' joy in the new movement of God's grace—being as he was a 'good,' generous-spirited man. Yet his was no mere natural kindliness. Divine inspiration prompted the attitude of one who was 'full of (the) Holy Spirit and faith.' It was just because of his faith—a Divinely quickened insight into spiritual realities—that he was able to let his generous heart have its own way in welcoming new brethren. This estimate of Barnabas seems to betray an eye-witness.

25. to seek for Saul: to cope with the rapid growth of the work. There was need, too, for strong leadership amid conditions where matters of principle would be constantly demanding prompt decision. And Saul was the man already prepared.

26. were gathered together with the church: rather, 'in the church.' Since 'church' in the N. T. is never used of a building but of a people, the sense probably is 'were hospitably entertained in the church' (the meaning of the verb in Matt. xxv. 35, 'I was a stranger, and ye took me in'; cf. Deut. xxii. 2; Joshua xix. 18). For a whole year they lived free of any personal charge or necessity to work for their livelihood. Again eye-witness.

called Christians first in Antioch: not necessarily at this very time. But it is most natural that it should be in the great mixed city of Antioch—where the gospel stepped out into a world alien to the associations of its old names, 'disciples,' 'brethren,' 'saints,' but familiar with factions and party-names—that its adherents acquire a fresh title at the hands of outsiders. The nickname, as it was in intention, meant 'partisans of Christ,' on the analogy of the political party-names frequently on the lips of Greeks as well as Romans (e. g. *Pompeiani*, 'Pompey's people'). Pure outsiders, ignorant of the official sense of the name 'Christ,' probably took it as the proper name (it became *Chrestus*, c

Now in these days there came down prophets from 27
Jerusalem unto Antioch. And there stood up one of 28
them named Agabus, and signified by the Spirit that
there should be a great famine over all the world: which

'excellent,' in Rome) of the patron of a strange group of people, whom they accordingly dubbed 'Christ's people.' So Tacitus, writing of the year A.D. 64 in Rome, speaks of those 'whom the populace was wont to style *Christiani*.' Like many other nicknames, it was gradually adopted as a title of honour, becoming traceable from about A.D. 63 (1 Pet. iv. 16; cf. *Didaché*, xii. 4; Ignatius, *passim*).

Loyalty of Gentile to Judæan believers. xi. 27–30.

27. prophets: a class of persons often referred to in the N. T. church, endowed with a special inspiration enabling them to reveal God's mind in all relations needful to the well-being of His people ('forthtellers,' and not only foretellers: cf. 1 Cor. xiv). As such they ranked next to the apostles, the primary 'witnesses' to the facts and words of their Master's earthly life which formed the basis of the gospel (see 1 Cor. xii. 28; Eph. iv. 11; the *Didaché*, xi. 3 ff.). More, Christians are 'built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets,' the gospel 'mystery' being 'revealed unto his holy apostles and prophets in the Spirit' (Eph. ii. 20, iii. 5). Such 'prophets' are mentioned in xiii. 1, xxi. 9 (Philip's daughters); while Agabus, the one specially in question here, meets us again in xxi. 10. At the end of this verse the ancient *Codex Bezae* (with some slight Latin support) adds the following: 'and there was much exultant joy. And when we were assembled together, one from among them spake, by name Agabus,' &c. Many are inclined to accept this as genuine, and to see in it the first emergence of the 'we' of personal witness (frequent from xvi. 10 onwards). But the evidence is far too weak to support this view, especially as the Syriac version, and other allies of *Codex Bezae* in many of its peculiar readings, here give it no countenance. The reading, however, is noteworthy as suggesting that, at the time and place when it arose as a gloss (probably in the second century), the author of Acts (Luke) was believed to have lived at Antioch in the early days of the gospel. This strengthens the tradition that Luke was of Antiochene origin. Another view is that the author of the gloss had before him an Antiochene document used by Luke, and added what he had left out. But of this there are no sufficient indications.

28. a great famine over all the world. 'The world' here is *lit.* 'the inhabited (earth),' conceived practically as coextensive with the Roman Empire: cf. xxiv. 5, Luke ii. 1. Famine did, indeed, abound in various localities under Claudius (Emperor,

29 came to pass in the days of Claudius. And the disciples,
every man according to his ability, determined to send
30 relief unto the brethren that dwelt in Judæa: which also
they did, sending it to the elders by the hand of Barnabas
and Saul.

A. D. 41–54), though no general famine at one time is recorded; nor need it be here meant, for the original may be rendered simply 'great famine.' The 'great famine' in Judæa, which our author has specially in mind, is recorded by Josephus in such a way as to point to the year 46 as its climax; and this may be taken as the probable date of the relief visit alluded to in verse 30. The words 'which came to pass in the days of Claudius'—one of those notes by which Luke (and he only) is fond of connecting his narrative with the general history of the Empire—rather suggest (1) that the famine happened several years after the prophecy, and (2) that the latter was not uttered under Claudius, but under Tiberius, who died in March, A. D. 37. See further on verse 30 for the chronology of chaps. xi–xii.

29. The emphasis on individual readiness to contribute according to ability is very marked in the Greek.

relief: *lit.* 'for ministry' (cf. 2 Cor. ix. 1, 12 f.). The spiritual value of such brotherly service (note the effective change from 'disciples' to 'brethren'—their brethren in the Lord), by way of cementing the unity between the mother-church and her distant colonies, as it were, was very great. This we see from Paul's deep interest in the similar collection or 'ministration' connected with his final journey to Jerusalem (1 Cor. xvi. 1; 2 Cor. ix. 1, 12 f.; Rom. xv. 25–27; Acts xxiv. 17).

30. to the elders: i. e. persons in a position of official leadership and oversight corresponding to that of the 'elders' in each local Jewish community. Their existence is simply taken for granted as part of the organized life of a Jewish community, even of the Messianic order. Their relation to the Seven, whose appointment to meet a peculiar emergency at Jerusalem is noticed in connexion with Stephen's rise to prominence, has been a good deal debated. Rather unnecessarily, since it is doubtful whether 'the elders' at Jerusalem, rather than those among the Christians of Judæa in general (verse 29), are here meant (see note on xii. 25, where the reference to Jerusalem is probably an insertion). But in any case the two types of office were distinct. Further, the scattering of the Jerusalem Church, particularly the Hellenistic section of it, may have effaced the special arrangements recorded in chap. vi; and fresh organization would gradually emerge on more ordinary Jewish lines (for their functions see xv. 6, xx. 28).

Now about that time Herod the king put forth his 12
hands to afflict certain of the church. And he killed 2

This would be the more likely to happen if, as is probable, the apostles were now no longer concentrated in Jerusalem, but were engaged in missionary work throughout Palestine. In the lead of the Jerusalem Church, then, they would be replaced in ordinary circumstances by a body of elders, men of weight and counsel, at whose head stood James the Lord's brother (see under xii. 17), while in other churches 'the elders' would be the natural leaders and the administrators of any relief fund. But further, as it was for 'the brethren that dwelt in Judæa' that relief was destined, it is not clear that by 'the elders,' to whom it was actually dispatched, are meant merely those in the capital rather than the elders in each Judæan church. That Jerusalem was the chief centre of such ministry on the part of the Antiochene envoys is certainly implied by xii. 25: but the text there is doubtful.

As to the chronology of this relief visit, there is no good reason to think that our author meant it to come before the events of xii. 1–24. Once the prophecy is alluded to (and he places this before Herod's death, shortly after Passover, A. D. 44), he naturally goes on to relate its sequel without regard to time. But the fact that he relates the envoys' return to Antioch at the end of chap. xii. suggests that he knew that the relief scheme was not fully executed until after Herod's death: see note on verse 28 for its probable date, A. D. 46. On the relation of this visit to Paul's own account of his visits to Jerusalem see Introduction, p. 24.

Herod's persecution; Peter's deliverance; Herod's end; the Church's growth. xii.

This persecution, which seems to have been confined to Jerusalem, began shortly before Passover, A. D. 44. It was due to the brief rule of a native prince, Herod Agrippa I (A. D. 41–44), who, though educated in Rome—where he won the friendship of Caligula and Claudius, to which he owed his throne—was by policy, if not by conviction, a zealous patron of the Jewish Law.

xii. 1–19. *Fresh persecution: Peter's deliverance.*

1. certain of the church. Probably Herod began to fear the effect of the Messianic claims of Jesus upon his own position as king by grace of Cæsar. At any rate his policy was to strike the leaders, to begin with; then, if this proved popular (cf. verse 3), to proceed to further measures. Perhaps he did not actually kill any save James: nor is it clear whether he had even arrested

3 James the brother of John with the sword. And when
he saw that it pleased the Jews, he proceeded to seize
Peter also. And *those* were the days of unleavened
4 bread. And when he had taken him, he put him in
prison, and delivered him to four quaternions of soldiers
to guard him; intending after the Passover to bring him
5 forth to the people. Peter therefore was kept in the
prison: but prayer was made earnestly of the church
6 unto God for him. And when Herod was about to
bring him forth, the same night Peter was sleeping
between two soldiers, bound with two chains: and
7 guards before the door kept the prison. And behold,
an angel of the Lord stood by him, and a light shined
in the cell: and he smote Peter on the side, and awoke
him, saying, Rise up quickly. And his chains fell off
8 from his hands. And the angel said unto him, Gird
thyself, and bind on thy sandals. And he did so. And
he saith unto him, Cast thy garment about thee, and
9 follow me. And he went out, and followed; and he
wist not that it was true which was done by the angel,

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more than James and Peter, when his plans were arrested by a fatal illness.

3. the days of unleavened bread: i. e. the seven days after the eating of the passover on Nisan 14 (Exod. xii. 14), a season when Jerusalem would be full of Jews and of enthusiasm for the Jewish Law in all its details—a good time for Herod's purpose. It meant some delay, however. For the Jews felt it a sort of profanation to pass judgement on any one during a festal season, such as passover (cf. verse 4).

4. bring him forth to the people: i. e. to sentence him before the people.

6. between two soldiers, &c. He was bound by a hand to each of these men, who formed half of one of the four quaternions (bodies of four), on guard each for six hours at a time. The other half of the quaternion were 'the guards before the door.'

7. stood by him: better, 'was (suddenly) upon him'; cf. Luke ii. 9.

9. The circumstantiality of the narrative here, as elsewhere, shews that it rests on an early and good witness, such as John

but thought he saw a vision. And when they were past 10
the first and the second ward, they came unto the iron
gate that leadeth into the city; which opened to them
of its own accord: and they went out, and passed on
through one street; and straightway the angel departed
from him. And when Peter was come to himself, he 11
said, Now I know of a truth, that the Lord hath sent
forth his angel and delivered me out of the hand of
Herod, and from all the expectation of the people of the
Jews. And when he had considered *the thing*, he came 12
to the house of Mary the mother of John whose surname
was Mark; where many were gathered together and were
praying. And when he knocked at the door of the gate, 13

Mark, to whose mother's house Peter first betook himself (cf. Introduction, p. 23).

10. The early witness instinctively introduced local touches as he followed in imagination the apostle's movements. This probably suggested to an early reader of Acts to add yet another realistic touch, in the words 'and went down the seven steps,' found in *Codex Bezae* after 'and they went out' (cf. xxi. 35, 40, where steps are referred to, but in a way more essential to the narrative). Probably these seven steps were still a feature of the locality (the fortress of Antonia, cf. 'the gate that leadeth into the city') when the words were added.

12. This verse supplies an interesting glimpse of early church life, with its semi-domestic features. The Mary in question, who was seemingly a widow, must have been a leading member of the Jerusalem Church and, like her kinsman (? nephew, see Col. iv. 10, where Barnabas and her son appear as cousins) Barnabas, a person of substance. Compare the position of Phœbe in Cenchreæ, the port of Corinth, who was 'succourer (patroness) of many' (Rom. xvi. 1 f.). For her son, John Mark, see under verse 25. The fact that Peter turned his steps to Mary's house suggests that he was a friend of the family; and this is borne out by his affectionate phrase, 'Mark my son' (1 Pet. v. 13), probably implying that he had 'begotten him in the gospel.' Early tradition makes the connexion between them very close, Mark being called Peter's 'interpreter' (so 'the elder' known to Papias, *Eusebius* iii. 39).

13. the door of the gate: rather, 'gateway'; see x. 17, and cf. 'ran in' (verse 14).

14 a maid came to answer, named Rhoda. And when she
knew Peter's voice, she opened not the gate for joy, but
15 ran in, and told that Peter stood before the gate. And
they said unto her, Thou art mad. But she confidently
affirmed that it was even so. And they said, It is his
16 angel. But Peter continued knocking: and when they
17 had opened, they saw him, and were amazed. But he,
beckoning unto them with the hand to hold their peace,
declared unto them how the Lord had brought him forth
out of the prison. And he said, Tell these things unto
James, and to the brethren. And he departed, and went
18 to another place. Now as soon as it was day, there was
no small stir among the soldiers, what was become of
19 Peter. And when Herod had sought for him, and found

Rhoda: i.e. Rose. The mention of the name of the servant-maid betrays the eye-witness familiar with Mary's household.

14–16. The conduct of all parties is here most life-like.

15. It is his angel. The Jews believed that each man had a guardian angel (the *genius* of the Romans), cf. Heb. i. 14. Beautiful use of it is made in Matt. xviii. 10, 'in heaven their ('these little ones') angels do always behold the face of my Father.' Seemingly it was popularly believed that the guardian angel possessed or sometimes assumed the form of the person under his care.

17. unto James, and to the brethren. A valuable allusion to the conditions of church life in Jerusalem at this time, the apostles being absent, and James, the Lord's brother, being far the most prominent among the elders who guided 'the brethren' in the conduct of their common affairs: see xi. 30. This James, on account not only of his having seen the Risen Jesus (1 Cor. xv. 7), but also of his actual kinship to the Lord (1 Cor. ix. 5), enjoyed a quasi-apostolic status (Gal. i. 19, ii. 9), shared in degree by his brothers—'even as the rest of the apostles, and the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas' (1 Cor. ix. 5). James' leadership among the Jerusalem brethren is confirmed by Acts xxi. 18 (cf. xv. 13); and the unexplained allusion to it in the present connexion shows our author's close touch with local feeling.

went to another place: that he left Jerusalem is implied by his message to James. But whither he went it is idle to guess.

him not, he examined the guards, and commanded that they should be put to death. And he went down from Judæa to Cæsarea, and tarried there.

Now he was highly displeased with them of Tyre and 20
Sidon: and they came with one accord to him, and, having made Blastus the king's chamberlain their friend, they asked for peace, because their country was fed from the king's country. And upon a set day Herod arrayed 21
himself in royal apparel, and sat on the throne, and made an oration unto them. And the people shouted, 22
saying, The voice of a god, and not of a man. And 23
immediately an angel of the Lord smote him, because he

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xii. 20-23. *Herod's end.*

Josephus (*Ant.* xix. 8. 2) has a full account of Herod's death (see below) parallel to what here is told briefly in verses 21-23, and it is often said that these verses are based on Josephus. But as Josephus says nothing of Tyrians and Sidonians, nor of Blastus, Acts has clearly an independent source of information. Luke might well hear the story on the spot when with Paul in Cæsarea (xxvii. 1).

20. Tyre and Sidon were outside Palestine and in the province of Syria, so that the only kind of war which Herod could wage was an economic one: and it was 'peace' from such revenge that their envoys sought.

21-23. Josephus' account is in substance as follows: A festival in the emperor's honour was in progress. On the second day, Herod, entering the theatre in a silvered robe, presented so striking a spectacle as the sun glinted on his finery, that his flatterers saluted him in words implying Divine powers. The king took this homage without protest, but almost at once perceived in an owl, perched on a rope above his head, an omen of doom. He was seized with pain in his intestines, and died after five days of horrible suffering. Of such a popular story the simpler, yet more circumstantial, narrative in Acts surely represents an earlier form, as heard among the Christians at Cæsarea by our author—whose own style is here apparent (e. g. in the rare word rendered 'was highly displeased').

21. the throne: rather the official seat (usually 'judgement-seat'), from which Herod was presiding at the festival in the amphitheatre, when the deputation was admitted.

gave not God the glory: and he was eaten of worms, and gave up the ghost.

24 But the word of God grew and multiplied.

25 And Barnabas and Saul returned from Jerusalem, when they had fulfilled their ministration, taking with them John whose surname was Mark.

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23. eaten of worms. This specific touch is not found in Josephus' account, but is in itself consistent therewith. It has a parallel, however, in the death of Herod the Great as found in Josephus (*Ant.* xvii. 6. 5), and yet earlier in that of Antiochus Epiphanes in 2 Macc. ix. 9, a stock picture of the impious man's end.

xii. 24 f. *The Church still growing.*

24. In striking contrast to the foregoing, our author sums up once more (cf. ix. 31) the progress of the gospel—for the last time as regards Palestine—before passing on to the second half of his book, with its account of extension outside the Holy Land of Judaism, throughout the Gentile world.

25. A transitional verse, bringing back from their fraternal mission to Judæa (xi. 30) the prime agents in the new departure next to be described.

returned from Jerusalem. The best MSS. read 'to Jerusalem,' which some would take not with 'returned,' but rather with 'fulfilled.' This would, however, be doubtful Greek. It is best, then, to assume that the variants (even 'from' is in two distinct forms in two groups of MSS.) all represent additions to the simple verb 'returned'—the place *whither* (Antioch) being clear from the last mention of the envoys: cf. viii. 28, xx. 3. It is probable, as we have seen (xi. 30), that their mission did not begin till after Herod's death—the famine reaching a head about A.D. 46: but in any case they carried through their labour of love.

taking with them John whose surname was Mark. This looks forward to xiii. 5. John Mark, as his name and his kinship with Barnabas suggest, belonged to the Hellenistic or less strictly Jewish element in the Jerusalem Church (with which it looks as if Peter were specially at home, xii. 12)—the circle of Stephen and Philip the Evangelist, with which Luke would naturally associate when at Jerusalem and Cæsarea. Belonging, then, to the liberal wing of the old church, John would be a fit helper for his cousin Barnabas, whether in Antioch or in those farther fields (e. g. his native Cyprus) to which he and Saul were doubtless already turning their eyes.

Now there were at Antioch, in the church that was 13
there, prophets and teachers, Barnabas, and Symeon that
was called Niger, and Lucius of Cyrene, and Manaen
the foster-brother of Herod the tetrarch, and Saul. And 2
as they ministered to the Lord, and fasted, the Holy

The first missionary journey of Barnabas and Paul.
xiii, xiv.

xiii. 1–3. *The Divine origin of the mission.*

1. prophets and teachers: men of special inspiration (1 Cor. xii. 28), the former term implying more spontaneity of utterance (cf. note on xi. 27), the latter a more didactic function. These ministries are so far distinguished in Rom. xii. 6 f.; Eph. iv. 11, and yet more markedly in the *Didaché*, xiii. 1, 2, xv. 1, 2.

Barnabas, &c. The list of names is remarkable as separating Saul from Barnabas and placing him last. Some suppose that this reflects the estimate of some nearly contemporary local source. But this is doubtful. Even immediately after the first missionary journey, Paul would not rank at Antioch *after* the names which follow that of Barnabas. It looks then as though our author meant Saul's place at the end to be emphatic, answering to Barnabas' at the beginning.

Of **Symeon Niger** we know nothing. Perhaps he was, like Barnabas, a Cypriot (cf. xi. 20), a view rather favoured by the occurrence of Lucius the Cyrenian just after. The name **Manaen** represents the Hebrew Menahem (2 Kings xv. 14). Papias, writing early in the second century, states (according to Philip Sidetes) that 'the mother of Manaim' was raised from the dead. As to his connexion with Herod Antipas (Herod 'the Tetrarch,' in contrast to 'King,' such as his father or Herod Agrippa), 'foster-brother' is here used in the secondary sense of 'playmate' or 'intimate friend' (see Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, 310 ff., for evidence of this usage). One may here recall the fact that Joanna the wife of Chuza, the steward of Herod Antipas, was a devoted follower of Jesus (Luke viii. 3). Further, it is worth noting that it was a certain Essene named Menahem who predicted the greatness of the Herods. The mention of these names, which can hardly have been familiar outside North Syria, favours the view that Antioch (not Rome) was the birthplace of Acts, and that its author was writing as a member of the local church.

2. as they ministered to the Lord: i. e. the prophets and teachers, at least primarily. From the connected words 'and fasted' it is probable that the ministry was that of prayer (see verse 3, xiv. 23; cf. Luke ii. 37, 'worshipping (*lit.* 'serving') with fastings and supplications') and waiting upon God for special

Ghost said, Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work
3 whereunto I have called them. Then, when they had
fasted and prayed and laid their hands on them, they
sent them away.
4 So they, being sent forth by the Holy Ghost, went
down to Seleucia; and from thence they sailed to Cyprus.
5 And when they were at Salamis, they proclaimed the
word of God in the synagogues of the Jews: and they

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guidance on a matter already occupying their thought. This matter was surely the question of a forward movement into the Roman Empire, which we may imagine had been suggested by Saul, in pursuance of the special revelation which he claims to have had touching the destination of the gospel for the Gentile (see Gal. i. 16; Eph. iii. 3 ff., and 2 Cor. xii. 2 ff.—a passage which refers to a time prior to A. D. 47, the probable date of Acts xiii).

the Holy Ghost said: i. e. through one or more of the prophets named.

3. The purport of this solemn service of dismissal (releasing them, as it were, from the service of the local church; cf. xv. 30, 32) is defined in xiv. 26 as a committing of them to the grace of God) a phrase repeated on the eve of Paul's next journey, xv. 40) for the given work. That Saul understood it to confer apostolic commission proper is quite excluded by what he says in Gal. i. 1, and elsewhere, of his immediate Divine commission. Thus the laying-on of hands in this connexion cannot be taken as a sign of ordination to an office, or of the communication of the grace needful for the work. It was simply a solemn dedication of men, already in possession of the requisite grace, to a special piece of work (cf. xv. 40). And the whole church, in a meeting at which the dismissal took place, was conceived to act in the prayer and acts of its most gifted members, 'the prophets and teachers' (cf. xiv. 27, the report to the church).

xiii. 4-12. *Cyprus; the Roman proconsul led to belief.*

4. Note the emphasis on the Holy Spirit as initiating this, as other steps, by which the gospel spread (cf. viii. 29, x. 19, xvi. 6 f.).

went down: i. e. from inland to the sea, to where Seleucia, the port of Antioch, stood at the mouth of the Orontes.

5. Salamis: the chief city of the island and that nearest to Syria.

in the synagogues of the Jews. Our author is careful to make clear that, even in the hands of those who most extended the

had also John as their attendant. And when they had 6
gone through the whole island unto Paphos, they found
a certain sorcerer, a false prophet, a Jew, whose name
was Bar-Jesus; which was with the proconsul, Sergius 7

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actual scope of the gospel, it came 'to the Jew first' (Rom. i. 16): see verse 46, xiv. 1, xvii. 2, xviii. 4, 19, xix. 8. Of course the most prepared of the Gentiles were also to be found attending synagogues.

John as their attendant: rather, 'as (an) attendant,' not necessarily the sole one (see verse 13). The humble part played by John Mark—whose name is not included in the commission, but is here introduced rather incidentally—is suggested by the term 'attendant,' used in Luke iv. 20 of the beadle or keeper of the synagogue at Nazareth. John would attend to their material arrangements, but also to such minor duties of the work itself as baptizing converts and perhaps giving them elementary oral instruction (*catēchēsis*) in Christ's sayings and the salient facts of his life and death. If we ask why John's presence was worth noting at all, we find the answer in the episode in verse 13, which itself is of moment only in relation to xv. 36 ff., as explaining how Barnabas and Paul came to separate after their close association.

6. In their missionary progress through the whole island (the force of 'going through,' see viii. 4) they may have been helped by beginnings made by the Cypriots alluded to in xi. 19. But there was nothing important in principle to chronicle, till they reached the centre of Roman influence on the south-west coast.

Paphos: i. e. New Paphos, some few miles north of the old site famous for its temple of Venus.

sorcerer. See notes on Simon Magus (viii. 9), and the Jewish exorcists of xix. 13.

Bar-Jesus: i. e. 'son of Jesus.' The knowledge of this name, alongside his other title Elymas (verse 8), shews we have here, in some form, the account of an eye-witness. It would be natural to think of John Mark; only the story remains equally vivid after his departure (verse 13). Of course our author may have heard the story of this journey from Paul's own lips. But since the phrase 'Paul and his company' (*lit.* 'those about Paul') rather suggests that Mark was not their only companion, we may imagine the narrative to come from another 'attendant' in some capacity—Paul's medical attendant, Luke himself. The main difficulty to this theory is the absence of the first person plural which emerges suddenly in xvi. 10: its main support is found in the similar character of the 'vividness' in xiii, xiv. and the 'we' sections.

7. the proconsul. One of our author's accurate touches where inaccuracy was easy. For Roman provinces were at

Paulus, a man of understanding. The same called unto
him Barnabas and Saul, and sought to hear the word of
8 God. But Elymas the sorcerer (for so is his name by
interpretation) withstood them, seeking to turn aside the
9 proconsul from the faith. But Saul, who is also *called*
Paul, filled with the Holy Ghost, fastened his eyes on

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this time of two classes, imperial and senatorial. It was only in the latter that the governor was styled Proconsul (Cæsar's representative being styled technically Legate). Now Cyprus had been an imperial province, but in 22 B.C. Augustus had transferred it to the Senate. Later, i. e. under Hadrian (A.D. 117–138), it seems to have been under a *propraetor*.

Sergius Paulus. It so happens that a fragmentary inscription survives bearing the words 'under Paulus as proconsul.' Another inscription, recently found in Rome (1887), refers to a certain L. Sergius Paulus as *praetor* (an office often leading to a provincial governorship).

a man of understanding: as we say, 'a sensible man,' meaning one with a fair and open mind. Nor need it surprise us that a man of such good sense should lend an ear to a man like Elymas, whom we should call a charlatan. For in that age the laws of nature were but ill understood; thus a clever juggler or prognosticator might well produce a deep impression on a man reverent to 'the Powers above' but without sure light upon their nature and ways. The career of Apollonius of Tyana (not far from Saul's native Tarsus), which was just about opening at this time, helps one to appreciate the effect produced by Elymas. Sergius Paulus had perhaps, like Hadrian, a taste for everything out of the way (*omnium curiositatum explorator*), particularly in things religious. His good sense came out in the candour which made him first give the new teaching about God a hearing, and then yield his homage to the superior claims of the gospel, when these were brought home to him (see verse 12).

8. Elymas: probably a Graecized form of the Arabic for 'wise' (*alim*, cf. 'wizard') or of the Aramaic *alīmā*, meaning 'powerful' (cf. Simon Magus as 'The Power of God which is called Great,' viii. 10). In either case it might fairly be rendered by Magus as it is here.

from the faith: or 'from faith,' i. e. from believing in 'the word,' since the proconsul had not as yet done more than listen.

9. Saul, who is also called **Paul.** The apostle, like many Jews (e. g. John Mark), no doubt possessed from childhood two names, the one being used in Jewish society, the other in Gentile. Here our author, by thus introducing for the first time the Gentile name,

him, and said, O full of all guile and all villany, thou son 10
of the devil, thou enemy of all righteousness, wilt thou
not cease to pervert the right ways of the Lord? And 11
now, behold, the hand of the Lord is upon thee, and
thou shalt be blind, not seeing the sun for a season.
And immediately there fell on him a mist and a
darkness; and he went about seeking some to lead him
by the hand. Then the proconsul, when he saw what 12
was done, believed, being astonished at the teaching of
the Lord.

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which he henceforth uses uniformly, subtly hints that Paul, in stepping to the front on this critical occasion, was assuming his full character as apostle to the Gentiles. Barnabas now falls into the background in the story of this journey; witness 'Paul and his company' (verse 13), the lead which Paul takes in speech (verses 16, 46, xiv. 9), and even the order of their names (save xiv. 14). Our author is also careful to note that Paul's initiative was of Divine origin; 'filled with (the) Holy Spirit,' he took up the sorcerer's challenge. To the historian the moment was highly significant, both for the gospel generally, and for Paul personally, in relation to the Roman world.

10. Elymas' infidelity to Israel's God probably lay in his trying by sleight of hand and other deception to beguile men into belief in his own supernatural powers, instead of witnessing to the sublime monotheism which, along with its Law for the guidance of conduct ('the straight ways of Jehovah'), it was the Jew's bounden duty to propagate among men. It was in the interests of his self-seeking ambition that Elymas was opposing the preachers of a message professing to come from Israel's God. No 'son of Salvation' (*Bar-Jesus*) was he, but 'son of the devil.'

11. for a season. A genuine touch. The temporary nature of the penalty is noteworthy, suggesting that its object was partly remedial, and so removing it out of the category of 'stock judgements' such as abound in apocryphal Acts.

there fell . . . by the hand. This vivid picture may be compared with the account of Saul's own blindness, both its oncoming and its removal (ix. 8, 18).

12. The proconsul's belief is not represented as the mere effect of a miracle. He was already predisposed towards faith in the doctrine of Christ (7 f.); and this proof of its Divine authority overcame his hesitation (cf. Luke iv. 32). Observe, too, that no reference is made to his baptism (contrast the case of the

13 Now Paul and his company set sail from Paphos, and came to Perga in Pamphylia: and John departed from

Philippian jailor, xvi. 33). This at least disproves the notion of any anxiety on the historian's part to emphasize the fact that a man of such standing had been won for the gospel, though the incident was meant, no doubt, to illustrate the good relations between the gospel and typical Romans in the early days, as well as to foreshadow Paul's future rôle.

xiii. 13–41. *The mission in South Galatia opens at Antioch: address in the synagogue.*

13. Paul and his company. Paul is now clearly the leading spirit in the party, which seems to have included more than Barnabas and John. Probably the plan of evangelization which took them from Paphos to Perga was his, Barnabas being only a consenting party in what was indeed of the nature of a fresh start. This may have influenced John's mind somewhat when he made his decision to go no further.

John departed . . . and returned to Jerusalem. The only hint as to the spirit in which he did this is furnished by xv. 38, where Paul is made to complain that John 'went not with them to the work.' That is, he had not had the courage to face a work not only new in conception, but also involving untried conditions, many of them beset with dangers, e. g. the arduous journeyings, the perils of rivers, perils of robbers, perils in solitudes, which Paul refers to in 2 Cor. xi. 26 as among the experiences he had faced. Whither, then, was Paul proposing to carry his companions? He knew south Asia Minor as a possible field of work far better than they: and we may suspect that, especially after his meeting with Sergius Paulus, his ambition went beyond the course he actually traversed—including cities known to him in Tarsus as lying further west on the great route between Syria and the Roman province of Asia—and already had in view the yet greater cities of the Lycus Valley and others within the borders of that province itself. This view receives some support from the fact that he actually tried to turn his steps thither on his next journey (xvi. 6). If it be objected that in this case he would have gone to Ephesus and so seized the centre of the situation, one forgets that even a Paul might hesitate to begin with the greatest task, and might prefer to feel his way more gradually, through cities in which were large Jewish colonies, up to a city so cosmopolitan and beyond the terms of his own experience as Ephesus. We may suppose, then, that his plan was to proceed directly to the cities in the south-west of the province of Asia, without lingering in the less important Pamphylia, even in Perga, its capital. He would boldly strike north, over the Taurus, to join the great

them and returned to Jerusalem. But they, passing 14
through from Perga, came to Antioch of Pisidia; and
they went into the synagogue on the sabbath day, and
sat down. And after the reading of the law and the 15
prophets the rulers of the synagogue sent unto them,
saying, Brethren, if ye have any word of exhortation for

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main road running westwards to Asia. And this he had already effected when we find him at the Pisidian Antioch.

14. Perga: the capital of Pamphylia, which stretched along the south coast of Asia Minor, between Cilicia on the east and Lycia on the west. It lay some miles up the river Cestrus, Attalia being the great port on the coast (xiv. 25).

Antioch of Pisidia. There were several Antiochs, one being on the Mæander, the Carian Antioch. This one was actually on Phrygian rather than Pisidian soil. But the main point to notice is that from the Roman standpoint, that of administration (which superseded old racial distinctions), it was in Galatia, a vast province embracing at this time a large part of the central tableland of Asia Minor (some 3600 ft. above sea level). Antioch had the status of a Roman colony, and was the governing and military centre of the southern half of Galatia. It also contained a considerable Jewish element. And now Gal. iv. 13 f. comes in to help us. 'Ye know,' says Paul, 'that it was owing to an infirmity of the flesh that I preached the gospel unto you the first time: and that which was a trial to you in my flesh ye despised not, nor abhorred; but ye received me as an angel of God, even as Christ Jesus.' This means that Paul had not meant originally to preach in Antioch, but while on his way elsewhere was by stress of bodily illness arrested there for a time and so led into evangelizing the Galatians. The most likely view is that Paul had caught, in the low-lying, malarial district on the coast of Pamphylia, the germs of a fever which began to develop ere he reached Antioch. To this he would be specially liable if his 'stake in the flesh,' referred to in 2 Cor. xii. 7, was a chronic nervous derangement, resulting from the intensity of his visions there described. In any case those who have travelled in these regions bear witness to the humiliating condition to which the ague in question reduces its victims. It would amply explain what Paul says about the temptation to which his hearers were exposed, owing to the bodily mien (as of one under the curse of heaven) of him who brought them the new message from God.

15. A life-like picture of procedure in a synagogue. Separate lessons were read from the Pentateuch and the Prophets

16 the people, say on. And Paul stood up, and beckoning
with the hand said,
17 Men of Israel, and ye that fear God, hearken. The
God of this people Israel chose our fathers, and exalted
the people when they sojourned in the land of Egypt,
18 and with a high arm led he them forth out of it. And
for about the time of forty years suffered he their manners
19 in the wilderness. And when he had destroyed seven
nations in the land of Canaan, he gave *them* their land
for an inheritance, for about four hundred and fifty years:
20 and after these things he gave *them* judges until Samuel
21 the prophet. And afterward they asked for a king:
and God gave unto them Saul the son of Kish, a man

(including the earlier historical books). The 'rulers' had no official function themselves to perform. They were not so much ministers as churchwardens, who saw to it that fit persons were invited to lead the worship. Hence their message to the two strangers, whom they probably judged from their appearance to be men of education and character, and so able to exhort in 'the Law of the Lord.'

16-41. The heads of Paul's discourse are:—(1) The gracious treatment of Israel by God, leading up to David, in whom the type of the Lord's Anointed was established; (2) the realization of this Messianic type in Jesus, as duly witnessed by John as Forerunner, and by the Resurrection, to which certain Davidic scriptures pointed forward; (3) the Messianic blessings now offered through Jesus Messiah to Israel at large, particularly the unique blessing of Forgiveness of Sins.

16. beckoning: i. e. with a gesture inviting silence or attention.

ye that fear God: i. e. proselytes in some degree; see verse 43, cf. x. 2.

18. suffered he their manners. Some ancient authorities read 'bare he them as a nursing-father,' which is the reading of the LXX in Deut. i. 31, though in the second case of its occurrence there the best MS. has the word used by the best MSS. in Paul's speech. But one thing is clear, namely, that the English rendering is too harsh to suit the spirit of Paul's opening words, which dwell simply on the goodness of God to Israel. Unless, then, the alternative reading be correct, we should translate 'treated them considerately'—a sense of which the word seems capable.

of the tribe of Benjamin, for the space of forty years.
And when he had removed him, he raised up David to 22
be their king; to whom also he bare witness, and said,
I have found David the son of Jesse, a man after my
heart, who shall do all my will. Of this man's seed hath 23
God according to promise brought unto Israel a Saviour,
Jesus; when John had first preached before his coming 24
the baptism of repentance to all the people of Israel.
And as John was fulfilling his course, he said, What 25
suppose ye that I am? I am not *he*. But behold, there
cometh one after me, the shoes of whose feet I am not
worthy to unloose. Brethren, children of the stock of 26
Abraham, and those among you that fear God, to us is

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21. of the tribe of Benjamin. It may be accident: but this comes most naturally from Saul the Benjamite.

for the space of forty years. Traditional chronology, found in Josephus though not in the O. T.

22. The quotation combines Ps. lxxxix. 21, 1 Sam. xiii. 14.

24. before his coming: *lit.* 'before the face of his entering in' (=entry upon the arena of public ministry), a Hebraism based on Mal. iii. 1 f. (LXX).

25. An interesting echo of what we get in our gospels, independent even of the form found in Luke iii. 15 f., viz. 'but there cometh he that is mightier than I, the latchet of whose shoes I am not sufficient to unloose.'

26 ff. to us . . . they that dwell in Jerusalem, &c. It looks as if a contrast is drawn between Israel at large and the Jews of Jerusalem—official Judaism, as one might say. The latter had performed its characteristic part in fulfilling the prophecies touching Messiah's rejection at the hands of the national authorities. Thus the apostle's hopes of the Messianic Salvation ('this salvation') finding acceptance in Israel, centred in the as yet untested receptivity of unofficial Judaism—the Dispersion in particular. To them, then, of all men the gospel was 'sent forth' of God (cf. x. 36).

Some doubt this reading of the verses, and think that verse 27 simply points to the fact that the prophecies touching Messiah had been fulfilled in the centre of the national life, and that accordingly the conditions of the gospel being proclaimed now existed. Surely this might have been more clearly and simply expressed; nor is it borne out by the severe tone of verse 28.

27 the word of this salvation sent forth. For they that
dwell in Jerusalem, and their rulers, because they knew
him not, nor the voices of the prophets which are read
28 every sabbath, fulfilled *them* by condemning *him*. And
though they found no cause of death *in him*, yet asked
29 they of Pilate that he should be slain. And when they
had fulfilled all things that were written of him, they took
30 him down from the tree, and laid him in a tomb. But
31 God raised him from the dead: and he was seen for
many days of them that came up with him from Galilee
to Jerusalem, who are now his witnesses unto the people.
32 And we bring you good tidings of the promise made
33 unto the fathers, how that God hath fulfilled the same
unto our children, in that he raised up Jesus; as also it

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29. Here the burial of Jesus, as the sequel of his death at the hands of the Jews, is treated as their act. It would not be safe to argue that at this time Paul was ignorant of the details of Christ's burial; but it is a fair inference that the author of Luke's Gospel would hardly have put it so, if the speech were his own free composition.

33. unto our children: rather, 'to the children (as answering to 'the fathers' in verse 32), even to us,' or 'to the children, having for us raised up,' &c. The sense demands this, though it is not read by any MSS.: and we have here one of the very rare cases of 'primitive corruption' in all MSS., all turning on the change of a single vowel (*emon* for *emin*).

raised up Jesus: not as in iii. 22, vii. 37, where the context of the Scripture quoted proves it to refer to God's raising up of Jesus as 'the Prophet' or Messiah. Paul's use of the term differs from Peter's and Stephen's in those passages, just as his application of Ps. ii. 7—the begetting of God's Messianic Son—differs (cf. Rom. i. 4) from its usual Judæo-Christian acceptation (see Luke iii. 22, where an early 'Western' reading substitutes for 'in thee I am well pleased,' 'this day I have begotten thee'; cf. Heb. i. 5). To the latter the Baptism was determinative; to Paul it was the Resurrection. Here he is continuing the theme of which the apostles were witnesses, viz. the Resurrection and its issues. In verse 32 he proceeds to deal with the result for believing Israel, viz. the fulfilment of 'the promise made unto the fathers' as to the blessings of the Messianic era. The promise is in fact

is written in the second psalm, Thou art my Son, this
day have I begotten thee. And as concerning that he 34
raised him up from the dead, now no more to return to
corruption, he hath spoken on this wise, I will give you
the holy and sure *blessings* of David. Because he saith 35
also in another *psalm*, Thou wilt not give thy Holy One
to see corruption. For David, after he had in his own 36
generation served the counsel of God, fell on sleep, and
was laid unto his fathers, and saw corruption: but he 37
whom God raised up saw no corruption. Be it known 38
unto you therefore, brethren, that through this man is
proclaimed unto you remission of sins: and by him every 39
one that believeth is justified from all things, from which
ye could not be justified by the law of Moses. Beware 40

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cited at the end of verse 34, 'I will give you (true Israel) the holy blessings of David, those sure blessings.' This, says Paul, cannot refer to David and the age which he served in the way assigned to him ('having served his generation by the counsel of God'); for 'the holy blessings' are those attaching to God's 'Holy One' of Ps. xvi. 10, who should not 'see corruption.' But in that God raised Jesus from the dead, so as to escape corruption (verses 34, 37), He has declared him that Holy One, His Messianic Son (verse 33).

38. through this man: *lit.* 'through this (person),' i. e. Messiah Jesus.

39. An excellent statement of Paul's doctrine of Justification as 'good tidings' to be preached, as distinct from the form which he gave it in arguing against Judaizers. Cf. Gal. ii. 15 ff. for this practical or religious form of the gospel, in which Paul assumes that Peter is at one with him. Assurance of forgiveness of sins committed was not to be had on the basis of the Law as such ('for through the Law is the consciousness of sin,' Rom. iii. 20; Gal. iii. 11): but it was the distinctive blessing of the Messianic Salvation, with its new Covenant or declared basis of relations between God and man (see Rom. iv. 1-13; cf. Heb. x. 1-22).

by him: rather, 'in him'; Messiah becomes, in virtue of a self-abandoning trust, the new element, as it were, of the believer's being in relation to God.

justified: i. e. acquitted, as put on a new basis of restored fellowship—sin apart.

therefore, lest that come upon *you*, which is spoken in the prophets;

41 Behold, ye despisers, and wonder, and perish;
For I work a work in your days,
A work which ye shall in no wise believe, if one declare it unto you.

42 And as they went out, they besought that these words
43 might be spoken to them the next sabbath. Now when the synagogue broke up, many of the Jews and of the devout proselytes followed Paul and Barnabas: who, speaking to them, urged them to continue in the grace of God.

44 And the next sabbath almost the whole city was
45 gathered together to hear the word of God. But when the Jews saw the multitudes, they were filled with

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40 f. in the prophets: regarded as a section of the O. T., cf. vii. 42. The reference is to the LXX of Hab. i. 5, which has in view the Babylonian captivity as judgement on perversity in Israel.

xiii. 42–52. *Effect of the gospel in different quarters.*

42. In the Greek it is clear that the first 'they' means Paul and Barnabas, the second the audience. The address had impressed the assembly as a body, so that, as the strangers made their way out, they asked for further explanations next sabbath. Then after the meeting (which might include further proceedings) had formally dissolved, many individuals shewed their more definite sympathy, and gave them further opportunity of pressing home their message. Such distinctions of circumstance and attitude make us feel an eye-witness behind the story.

The relative readiness of the local Jews to consider the message, in spite of what had been said about the authorities in Jerusalem, quite fits in with what we know of Judaism in this region, which was a good deal out of touch with Jerusalem and strict legalism (cf. Timothy's mixed parentage, xvi. 3).

43. the devout proselytes. Probably a misleading rendering. 'God-fearing' qualifies rather than intensifies the force of 'proselytes,' so that the phrase denotes those who were proselytes in feeling, but stopped short of circumcision.

45. The Jews as a class (yet see verse 43) had probably come on

jealousy, and contradicted the things which were spoken
by Paul, and blasphemed. And Paul and Barnabas 46
spake out boldly, and said, It was necessary that the
word of God should first be spoken to you. Seeing ye
thrust it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of
eternal life, lo, we turn to the Gentiles. For so hath 47
the Lord commanded us, *saying*,

I have set thee for a light of the Gentiles,
That thou shouldest be for salvation unto the uttermost part of the earth.

And as the Gentiles heard this, they were glad, and 48
glorified the word of God: and as many as were ordained
to eternal life believed. And the word of the Lord was 49

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reflection to realize more fully what the gospel implied, and felt a growing aversion to it in proportion as it attracted the less strict type of proselyte (cf. verse 43) and through them the interest of Gentiles pure and simple. By 'the multitudes' these latter are clearly meant, cf. verse 48. A Messiah in the acceptance of whom Gentiles were thus prominent was no Messiah for them.

46 f. A turning-point in Paul's history and of Christianity as known to the author of Acts, though the experience was to be repeated time and again: cf. xvii. 5, xviii. 6, xix. 8 f., xxviii. 25–28. The words, 'Lo, we turn to the Gentiles,' were of course in the first instance uttered only with a local bearing, though they involved a principle significant of probable future cases.

47. This verse of Isa. xlix. 6, originally addressed to Israel in relation to its ideal as the servant of Jehovah, was at this time probably taken by Jews generally of Messiah and of Israel only through him. It exactly expresses our author's own idea of the Messiahship of Jesus (cf. Luke ii. 32, iv. 18).

48. ordained to eternal life. A bad rendering, as suggesting that human choice had no real part in such belief. The idea is simply that of preparedness of heart, without any thought as to how this came about. This is clear from the account of the Jews' unreadiness: they 'judged themselves unworthy' (in the sense of Matt. xxii. 8, 'The wedding is ready, but they that were bidden were not worthy'—i. e. as making light of it, verse 5). Thus all is conceived to turn ultimately on man's own choice. Like the Pharisees in Luke vii. 30, the Jews 'rejected for themselves the *counsel* of God.' No Divine 'decree' ordained the result either way. The best rendering then would be, 'were (found)

50 spread abroad throughout all the region. But the Jews urged on the devout women of honourable estate, and the chief men of the city, and stirred up a persecution against Paul and Barnabas, and cast them out of their

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disposed to eternal life,' which preserves the exact shade of the verb ('to set in order,' 'arrange,' 'dispose'), and has just that degree of ambiguity which belongs to the original. For the practically middle sense, between active and passive, cf. xx. 13, where a compound form of the verb is rendered 'he had appointed,' and xvii. 4, where the passive verb (*lit.* 'were allotted to') is rendered 'consorted with.' The words in question were introduced simply to limit the bearing of the otherwise too general phrase, 'the Gentiles,' used by way of effective contrast to 'the Jews,' also used rather broadly, in verse 45. Thus it is simply a qualifying statement as to matter of fact, without any theory as to the reason of the fact that not all the Gentiles actually believed.

49. This describes a process (imperf. tense) of some duration, affecting the whole region administratively dependent on Antioch (though not on its local magistrates, see verse 50). But it would be unsafe to assume for this a period of more than a few weeks; for there is no note about a 'considerable time,' as at Iconium (xiv. 3); and further, the dead set made by the Jews is recorded in the next breath, and would hardly be delayed more than a month or two.

50. The use made of female proselytes of good social position, who would stir up first their husbands and through them other leading citizens, is true to what we know to have been the free and influential position of women in this and other parts of Asia Minor (as also in Macedonia; cf. xvi. 14, xvii. 4, 12). It would have been far less possible in a typical Greek city like Athens.

a persecution. Acts as a rule passes lightly over apostolic sufferings, the extent and severity of which we learn only incidentally from Paul himself (2 Cor. xi. 23 ff.). But to those experienced in Antioch, Iconium, and Lystra, we have special witness in 2 Tim. iii. 11. And of the three occasions on which before A. D. 56 he was beaten with the rods of lictors (those of magistrates in *coloniae*, as at Philippi, rather than of Roman governors), one or both of the unrecorded cases may well belong to this journey. So with some of the five scourgings by the Jews recorded in the same context (2 Cor. xi. 24 f.).

cast them out of their borders: the Jews would get the local authorities to expel the preachers as disturbers of 'law and order.'

borders. But they shook off the dust of their feet 51
against them, and came unto Iconium. And the disciples 52
were filled with joy and with the Holy Ghost.

14 And it came to pass in Iconium, that they entered
together into the synagogue of the Jews, and so spake,
that a great multitude both of Jews and of Greeks
believed. But the Jews that were disobedient stirred up 2

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51. shook off the dust, &c.: 'washed,' as we should say, 'their hands of them': cf. Luke x. 11.

Iconium (now 'Konieh') lay some ninety miles to the south-east, and beyond the jurisdiction of the local authorities of Antioch. The journey thither would take some three or four days. They turned their steps in this direction rather than towards the cities of Asia, on the great road farther west, partly because Paul may have felt unable to begin so great an enterprise while his health was still uncertain, and partly owing to the presence of friends in Iconium, such as the Onesiphorus described in the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* (which, though largely legendary, yet seem to contain a kernel of fact). Iconium lay on a branch of the great Royal Road which ran between Antioch and Lystra, and was an important place, being 'metropolis' of a group of smaller cities which now belonged to the Lycaonian region of Galatia. But Iconium itself fell within the *regio* of which Antioch was the administrative centre.

xiv. 1–7. *Like experiences at Iconium: flight into Lycaonia.*

2. the Jews that were disobedient. The literal rendering: but the A.V. 'the unbelieving Jews' is quite as near the sense. The two ideas are virtually equivalent in the N.T.—a valuable proof of the moral quality of biblical 'faith' as involving the will or whole man: cf. 'the obedience of faith' (Rom. i. 5). See xxviii. 24, where 'some were obedient' (the R.V. renders 'believed') is contrasted with 'some disbelieved.'

stirred up, &c.: in the same way, probably, as in xiii. 50. *Codex Bezae* and one other MS. (Syr. Harcl. mg.) have, instead of the first half of this verse, the following:—'But the *archi-synagogi* and the *archontes* of the synagogue incited a persecution against the righteous ones'; also, after its second half, the following:—'But the Lord speedily gave peace.' The motive of these readings seems to be the desire to harmonize verses 2 and 4, with 3 coming in between. But the inconsistency is only apparent, verses 3–5 giving in more detail the story of the movement against the apostles, the main factor of which is by

the souls of the Gentiles, and made them evil affected
3 against the brethren. Long time therefore they tarried
there speaking boldly in the Lord, which bare witness
unto the word of his grace, granting signs and wonders
4 to be done by their hands. But the multitude of the
city was divided; and part held with the Jews, and
5 part with the apostles. And when there was made an
onset both of the Gentiles and of the Jews with their
rulers, to entreat them shamefully, and to stone them,
6 they became aware of it, and fled unto the cities of
Lycaonia, Lystra and Derbe, and the region round about:
7 and there they preached the gospel.

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anticipation laid bare in verse 2. Verse 2 in *Codex Bezae* has features of interest in it, considered as reflecting local Asiatic terminology in the second century (e.g. 'the righteous' of Christians): see also under xiv. 23.

3. in the Lord: rather, 'in reliance on (*epi*).

4. Finally things reached a crisis, the populace having definitely taken sides.

the apostles. The first time this title is applied to Paul and Barnabas (cf. verse 14). It is noteworthy that it thus occurs only in this one chapter. Some argue that it is the usage of his written source here adopted by our author, and point to the re-emergence in verse 14 of the old order, 'Barnabas and Paul,' laid aside early in this journey (see xiii. 9, 13). But Luke was too skilful a writer to leave things in by oversight; besides, we have seen reason to believe him present. In any case, there seems no reason to question that the title is here used with its full meaning, i. e. men directly commissioned by their Lord, Jesus Christ.

5. an onset: rather, 'a (sudden) impulse'; since the apostles forestalled the attack by flight, while yet the specific nature of the 'onset' is defined, viz. to maltreat and stone them.

with their rulers. Probably refers only to the Jews, for the magistrates would hardly take part in an act of mob-violence, rather than a formal arrest in the name of law and order. Stoning was the special Jewish penalty for blasphemy.

6. fled unto the cities of Lycaonia: i.e. out of 'Phrygian Galatia,' in which Iconium lay (see verse 1), into 'Lycaonian Galatia'—another *regio* of the great Galatic province.

Lystra and Derbe are called 'the cities of Lycaonia,' because

And at Lystra there sat a certain man, impotent in 8
his feet, a cripple from his mother's womb, who never
had walked. The same heard Paul speaking: who, 9
fastening his eyes upon him, and seeing that he had
faith to be made whole, said with a loud voice, Stand 10
upright on thy feet. And he leaped up and walked.
And when the multitudes saw what Paul had done, 11
they lifted up their voice, saying in the speech of
Lycaonia, The gods are come down to us in the likeness
of men. And they called Barnabas, Jupiter; and Paul, 12

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the region was in the main marked by the native or pre-Greek village system.

xiv. 8-20. *Evangelization of Lystra and Derbe.*

The story of the Lame Man is couched largely in Lucan language, especially at the beginning, where it is often verbally parallel to the Healing of the Lame Man at the Temple (iii. 2, 4, 7). But the extraordinary vividness and local colour imply a basis of eye-witness. Paul more than once refers to miracles as wrought through his own agency (Rom. xv. 19; 2 Cor. xii. 12), and to the occurrence of such things among his Galatian converts themselves (Gal. iii. 5).

8. Lystra: some eighteen miles SSW. of Iconium, where the Royal Road from Antioch ended in a garrison town. Like Antioch, it was a *colonia* and the chief centre of Græco-Roman civilization in those parts. Yet the older native element was strongly represented, as we see from certain details in the story which follows.

9. heard: better, 'was listening to': till, at last, Paul saw that faith had been kindled in his heart. This psychological touch is very true to the importance Paul attached to faith (yet see also Luke vii. 50; Acts iii. 16).

to be made whole: *lit.* 'saved,' though the reference here, as in iv. 9 f., cf. iii. 16, is simply to the body. This fact is most significant of the meaning generally attaching to 'salvation' when the soul only is in question. It is nothing less than 'health,' 'soundness.'

11. in the speech of Lycaonia. The natives were bi-lingual, and would, when addressing each other in a moment of excitement, break out into their mother-tongue—much as Welshmen might to-day. This would explain how the apostles did not catch their meaning till it took shape in act.

12. Their religious ideas were no less native than their speech:

13 Mercury, because he was the chief speaker. And the
priest of Jupiter whose *temple* was before the city, brought
oxen and garlands unto the gates, and would have done
14 sacrifice with the multitudes. But when the apostles,
Barnabas and Paul, heard of it, they rent their garments,
15 and sprang forth among the multitude, crying out and
saying, Sirs, why do ye these things? We also are men
of like passions with you, and bring you good tidings,
that ye should turn from these vain things unto the
living God, who made the heaven and the earth and the
16 sea, and all that in them is: who in the generations
gone by suffered all the nations to walk in their own
17 ways. And yet he left not himself without witness, in

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in their rude simplicity they fancied that they could discern in these striking strangers the distinctive features of two of their chief deities. Barnabas, as more dignified and reposeful in mien, suggested Zeus, the king of the gods; while Paul, as 'the chief speaker,' was Hermes, the messenger of the gods, in human guise.

13. Jupiter whose temple was before the city: rather, 'Zeus before the city,' the god taking his distinctive local name from the position of his temple.

the gates: better, 'the portals' of the temple.

14. when the apostles . . . heard it. The sacrifices to celebrate the Epiphany of the gods were prepared at the temple outside the walls, while the apostles (cf. verse 4) were still in the city (probably the *agora*). Hence, when it came to their ears, they rushed forth through the city gates, their garments rent (to denote their grief), in order to stop such idolatry.

15. of like passions: rather, 'of like nature' (humanity), affected (the idea of 'passions,' at the time when the A. V. used the word) by the same conditions of weak mortality, from which Deity ought to be conceived exempt.

these vain things: pointing to the apparatus of idolatry spread before all eyes.

15-17. With the 'natural religion' of this summary of Paul's address compare and contrast that of his address at Athens—each so perfectly adapted to its audience. Every one who has studied pagan religion, e. g. as seen in the modern mission field, knows how largely it is concerned with material benefits. Hence Paul's

that he did good, and gave you from heaven rains and fruitful seasons, filling your hearts with food and gladness. And with these sayings scarce restrained they the 18
multitudes from doing sacrifice unto them.

But there came Jews thither from Antioch and 19
Iconium: and having persuaded the multitudes, they stoned Paul, and dragged him out of the city, supposing that he was dead. But as the disciples stood round 20
about him, he rose up, and entered into the city: and on the morrow he went forth with Barnabas to Derbe. And when they had preached the gospel to that city, 21
and had made many disciples, they returned to Lystra, and to Iconium, and to Antioch, confirming the souls 22

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words were well adapted to lead up to the idea of 'a living God' of Nature.

19. Jews ... from Antioch and Iconium ... stoned Paul. At length his implacable foes attained their object—Paul's stoning as a blasphemer—by an unholy alliance with the pagan populace (no Jews are named at Lystra), to whom 'blasphemy' (i. e. Paul's denunciation of idolatry) meant the exact opposite of what the Jews had in mind in circulating the deadly charge. This was the one occasion on which Paul suffered stoning (2 Cor. xi. 25).

dragged him out of the city. The stoning had been a tumultuary onset, not a formal penalty for blasphemy, which would naturally have taken place outside the city.

20. Acts clearly regards this recovery as miraculous: yet it does not imply that Paul was more than half dead. Contrast what it says of Eutychus, xx. 9.

Derbe was the frontier city of Galatia on the south-east and a place of some standing at this time (*Claudio-Derbe*). Paul was here within easy reach of Tarsus, his old home. This fact enables us to realize how urgently they felt their converts' need of confirmation of soul (verse 22), and how inflexible their resolution in facing toil and peril to meet that need.

xiv. 21-28. *The return journey.*

21 f. This visitation of places from which they had so recently been driven, was possible only on the ground that they confined themselves to intercourse with the converts. Their action was no longer public in character, but semi-private, consolidating results already attained.

of the disciples, exhorting them to continue in the faith, and that through many tribulations we must enter into
23 the kingdom of God. And when they had appointed

22. we must enter. Note this vivid citation of the very words (cf. xxiii. 22 for a parallel) in which Paul comforted his converts, saying, 'We Christians must reckon with many trials on the appointed road into the final Kingdom of God.' Ramsay is probably right in thinking that Luke cited them as expressing a maxim of the Christian life which he himself strongly realized, and to which he had special reason for wishing to direct attention in his own day (*St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, 123).

23. Experience had brought home the need of more regular organization, if corporate life, with its mutual support and discipline, were to be what it might to these groups of brethren. The initiative would probably come from the apostles, with their wider experience of Christian life elsewhere; and this is the meaning to be given to the words 'they appointed for them elders.' It is against all known analogy at this time (cf. vi. 3) to suppose that the brethren had no voice in the selection of their local leaders—who in most cases would be men that had already taken the lead informally in the trying days just past. What was needed, then, was the regularizing and completing of such rudimentary organization as had arisen of vital necessity. The method of election seems to have been something like that by popular shew of hands (the strict sense of the verb here rendered 'appointed'), the apostles acting like the presiding magistrates at ordinary elections whose part it was to scrutinize the qualifications of candidates. In *Didaché* xv. 2 we read, 'Elect (the word here rendered 'appoint') for yourselves bishops and deacons,' where each community is assumed to elect its own ministers without any outside help.

The leaders thus appointed were styled 'elders' (cf. xi. 30), an official title for village magistrates and others in Egypt, and used in many towns of Asia Minor for a college of officers (*gerousia*) sometimes having a president (*archon, prostatēs, proēgoumenos*), a secretary, and a common fund in their charge (Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, 154 ff.). Hence we need not suppose that it was purely from the example of the synagogue that this early Christian title arose. As to their functions, we shall get further light on them when we come to the Ephesian elders in xx. 17, 28. But we may say here and now that they probably united the functions performed in certain Jewish communities of Asia Minor by *archontes*—rulers in more civic matters (as between Jew and Jew, cf. xiv. 5)—and *archisynagogi*, who supervised the synagogue and its worship (see xiii. 15, and the secondary reading in xiv. 2).

for them elders in every church, and had prayed with fasting, they commended them to the Lord, on whom they had believed. And they passed through Pisidia, 24
and came to Pamphylia. And when they had spoken 25
the word in Perga, they went down to Attalia; and 26
thence they sailed to Antioch, from whence they had been committed to the grace of God for the work which they had fulfilled. And when they were come, and had 27
gathered the church together, they rehearsed all things that God had done with them, and how that he had opened a door of faith unto the Gentiles. And they 28
tarried no little time with the disciples.

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prayed with fasting. The spiritual accompaniment of the formal setting apart to office, probably by laying-on of hands, as in vi. 6, xiii. 3.

commended them to the Lord, on whom they had believed. The brethren as a whole, who are mainly in mind throughout (cf. 'for them'). This appears from the character of the 'commendation,' which here, as in xx. 32, has no special relevance to church office.

25. Attalia: the port at which ships bound for North Syria usually called.

27. Ramsay thinks that they spent at least a year in Galatia. But this seems to allow too long time to elapse before persecution arose in each city. Probably they returned towards the close of the same year which saw their start from Antioch, viz. A. D. 47.

how that he had opened a door of faith unto the Gentiles. This is the chief moral of the journey, with its wide extension of the principle already admitted on a small scale in xi. 18, in a larger way at Antioch, xi. 20 f.

28. But meantime the scale upon which the principle was working itself out was already causing the stricter type of Judæan Jew to question its validity altogether. For was it not threatening to swamp the Holy Ecclesia of true Israel with uncircumcised Gentiles, and so undermine entirely its national character? Doubtless the news of the most recent development in this dangerous direction reached Judæa during Paul's period of comparative rest in Antioch, his base. It stirred the Judaizers to take instant and bold action, even to attack the dangerous principle in its very stronghold and under the very eyes of its great champions.

15 And certain men came down from Judæa and taught
the brethren, *saying*, Except ye be circumcised after the
2 custom of Moses, ye cannot be saved. And when Paul
and Barnabas had no small dissension and questioning
with them, *the brethren* appointed that Paul and
Barnabas, and certain other of them, should go up to

The great challenge of the principle, 'The gospel for man as man,' and its issue. xv. 1–35.

xv. 1–5. *The question raised in Antioch, transferred to Jerusalem.*

1. certain men . . . from Judæa: i. e. from Jerusalem in particular. For their blunt negative to the principle upon which many Gentiles had been admitted, ever since Peter's scruples had been overruled by Divine authority (xi. 17 f.)—though we know no instances of it in Jerusalem itself—see note on xiv. 28. The party in question seems to have been taking more and more definite shape, as the logic of facts brought home the full consequences of the principle, at first viewed as at most a matter of exceptional cases (see note on xi. 18). In verse 5 we gather that it was mainly composed of men who, prior to belief in Jesus as Messiah, had been Pharisees. Such were probably rather recent adherents of the Ecclesia, since Herod's death, or at least since the persecution caused by Stephen had weakened the more liberal wing of the Jerusalem Church. They had little real sympathy with the genius of the gospel or its first disciples, who were mostly of the simpler non-Pharisaic type of piety, as we see from the Pharisees' criticisms in the gospels. Hence their presence in the church may have been partly a mistake—just as the Twelve attached themselves to Jesus with very erroneous expectations in the first instance (cf. Paul's language about 'pseudo-brethren' of this type, in Gal. ii. 4).

2. no small dissension and questioning. The word rendered 'dissension' means rather 'faction' or 'sedition' involving two parties in a community. Hence it seems best to separate the two words and translate, 'and when dissension arose (in the local church) and no small discussion with them (the new-comers) on the part of Paul and Barnabas.'

and certain other of them: a valuable hint that our author's information on this episode is more exact than might appear on the surface: so the mention of 'the elders' in Jerusalem (cf. xi. 30, xxi. 18) as forming one body with 'the apostles' for consultative purposes (see further the note on xv. 41). Probably Luke himself was one of the deputation. On the relation of this visit to the visit recorded by Paul in Gal. ii. 1–10, when he went 'in pursuance of (a) revelation,' see Introduction, p. 24.

Jerusalem unto the apostles and elders about this question. They therefore, being brought on their way by 3
the church, passed through both Phœnicia and Samaria,
declaring the conversion of the Gentiles: and they
caused great joy unto all the brethren. And when they 4
were come to Jerusalem, they were received of the
church and the apostles and the elders, and they re-
hearsed all things that God had done with them. But 5
there rose up certain of the sect of the Pharisees who
believed, saying, It is needful to circumcise them, and
to charge them to keep the law of Moses.

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3. being brought on their way: rather, 'being sped on their way' with a hearty 'send-off' (cf. xx. 38, xxi. 5), a touch indicative of the sympathies of the Antiochene Church. Similarly the glad reception of their detailed account (the sense of the word rendered 'declaring') of the response they had met with from the Gentiles (but vaguely rumoured before) shewed what was the universal feeling of the brethren in the mixed regions of Phœnicia and Samaria (another sign of good information).

4. of the church: i. e. in a general gathering of the local church. Such touches should be borne in mind when the prominence of 'the apostles' in Acts is in question.

xv. 6-21. *The Jerusalem conference: decisive part of Peter and James.*

6. In the course of the church meeting for welcome, before which Paul and Barnabas reported their experiences of God's blessing on their recent preaching (cf. verse 3), certain Pharisaically-minded believers raised the question of principle. This led to an adjournment for a formal consideration of the matter. Hence it is now noted that the leading men, apostles and elders, definitely assembled for this purpose—since their influence would naturally be decisive in the church's counsels. To the interval between the two public assemblies, those who see in Acts xv. and Gal. ii. 1-10 accounts of the same visit, assign the private conferences with the leading apostles of which Paul makes everything. It is very hard, however, to see why he should be silent on the vindication of his policy in the public conference.

7. Observe that it was only after much general discussion, presumably on the part of the objectors and of men of influence and ability on both sides, that Peter rose to sum up the issue as he viewed it. This is thoroughly natural, as is the sequel,

6 And the apostles and the elders were gathered to-
7 gether to consider of this matter. And when there had been much questioning, Peter rose up, and said unto them,

Brethren, ye know how that a good while ago God made choice among you, that by my mouth the Gentiles
8 should hear the word of the gospel, and believe. And God, which knoweth the heart, bare them witness, giving
9 them the Holy Ghost, even as he did unto us; and he made no distinction between us and them, cleansing

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where Barnabas and Saul seize the opening presented by the silence following on an impressive speech, to recount in all their striking details the Divine interventions which had sealed God's approval of their work among the Gentiles. Thus they clinched Peter's argument. Finally James, easily first in prestige among the elders of the local community, proceeded to sum up, in a proposal which he felt expressed 'the sense of the meeting.' The more closely the account is examined, the more natural to the known conditions, and the less 'hierarchical' or cut and dry in form, it appears. One feels that the narrative is based on the account of an eye-witness (cf. note on verse 12).

7-11. Peter's appeal, as on the former occasion when a like issue was raised (xi. 1-18), is to the logic of God's own sovereign action in giving the seal of the Holy Spirit's manifest presence to Gentiles as such, on the sole basis of faith in His Messiah—which accordingly must be assumed *ipso facto* to cancel the 'uncleanness' of their native state. Only here he goes further, and calls the effort to go behind God's manifest action a 'tempting God,' by insisting on terms with the Gentiles which practically ignored or evaded His decision (see further under verse 10). It is exactly the line to be expected of the downright common-sense of the 'child-like' fisherman.

7. a good while ago: *lit.* 'from ancient days' or 'days in the beginning' (of the gospel). This makes for an early date for the case of Cornelius.

8. God, which knoweth the heart. This epithet (found also in i. 24) is the very nerve of Peter's argument. 'God knows all about the Gentiles, and He has spoken by deeds.'

9. God made no distinction in giving Holy Spirit gifts; therefore He *had* cleansed their hearts in the very act of faith. This is what the Judaizers were not docile and reverent enough to face. Their position meant logically:—Gentiles *must be* 'unclean' till

their hearts by faith. Now therefore why tempt ye God, 10
that ye should put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples,
which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear?
But we believe that we shall be saved through the grace 11
of the Lord Jesus, in like manner as they.

And all the multitude kept silence; and they heark- 12
ened unto Barnabas and Paul rehearsing what signs and
wonders God had wrought among the Gentiles by them.
And after they had held their peace, James answered, 13
saying,

Brethren, hearken unto me: Symeon hath rehearsed 14

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circumcised; *ergo* God has given His Holy Spirit into 'unclean' hearts. 'God forbid,' said Peter's unsophisticated piety. Here we have one conspicuous instance of the central idea of Acts, viz. the vindication of Christianity as the very hand of God, by the Holy Spirit, in human history.

10. a yoke . . . which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear. This is often said to be an impossible sentiment for Peter to utter. Perhaps, if by the 'yoke' were meant simply the observance of the Law. But the sense is rather such observance represented as the basis of justification, thus creating a grinding burden of anxiety as to whether requisite obedience had been rendered. It is the Law *legalistically* conceived—the light in which insistence on circumcision for those already accepted by God on another basis (faith) inevitably placed the Law. Now Gal. ii. 15 ff. assumes that Peter was at one with Paul in repudiating this view of the Law, as if co-ordinate with Faith in relation to acceptance with God. Paul himself was only an extreme case of the burden which the Law so conceived became to the devout Jewish conscience.

11. Exactly what Paul appeals to in Gal. ii. 16 as axiomatic for the Christian consciousness even of Jewish Christians: cf. iv. 12 for a previous statement of Peter's to this effect.

12. kept silence: rather, 'became silent' (cf. verse 13); 'silence'—the silence of deep interest—'fell on the whole assembly' (cf. vi. 2), and gave the Gentile apostles a unique opening.

Barnabas and Paul: the return to the old order, that of their relative standing in Jerusalem, reflects the situation as described by an eye-witness: cf. verse 25.

14–21. James, too, starts from the Divine intervention ('did visit') by which God was taking to Himself a people from among

how first God did visit the Gentiles, to take out of them
15 a people for his name. And to this agree the words of
the prophets; as it is written,
16 After these things I will return,
And I will build again the tabernacle of David,
which is fallen;
And I will build again the ruins thereof,
And I will set it up:
17 That the residue of men may seek after the Lord,
And all the Gentiles, upon whom my name is called,
18 Saith the Lord, who maketh these things known
from the beginning of the world.
19 Wherefore my judgement is, that we trouble not them
20 which from among the Gentiles turn to God; but that
we write unto them, that they abstain from the pollutions
of idols, and from fornication, and from what is strangled,

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the Gentiles; and proceeds to confirm the fact by its accord with prophecy. This he does in such wise as to indicate that this Gentile 'people' was to be but a subordinate element within the restored or Messianic theocracy ('the tent of David'). The moral, however, was the need of mutual forbearance between the two elements—full-blooded Israel and its Gentile guests or allies: and this meant a reasonable compromise, not of principle but of practice touching certain matters on which Gentile sentiment was already largely on the side of Jewish convictions.

14. Symeon. This Jewish form (Luke ii. 25, 34) of Peter's name occurs here only in Acts (cf. 2 Pet. i. 1); it lingers still in Luke's memory of the conference.

15. the words of the prophets: Amos ix. 11 f. is alone cited (freely from LXX): but it is implied that the general tenor of the prophets is to the same effect.

19. my judgement is: the tone of one virtually presiding at the conference, formulating 'the draught of a practical resolution' (Hort, *Christian Ecclesia*, 79).

20. abstain from the pollutions of idols: i. e. from eating food 'polluted' (as it was to Jewish minds) by having been offered to idols, = 'things sacrificed to idols,' in verse 29: cf. 1 Cor. viii. 1, x. 14.

from fornication. Doubtless sexual licence was intimately bound up with pagan religious worships and feasts; and this may

and from blood. For Moses from generations of old 21
hath in every city them that preach him, being read in
the synagogues every sabbath.

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be the reason these two abstinences come together (cf. 1 Cor. vi. 13 ff.). Yet, seeing that some forms of idolatry had no such associations, many argue that this view is inadequate and that fornication must be understood more generally. Feeling, however, that it would need strange moral insensibility in Gentile believers to justify the mention of such a prohibition, some try to limit the sense of the word to a particular kind of sexual irregularity, viz. incest or marriage within forbidden degrees. But 1 Cor. v. 1, which is cited in this sense, itself proves that such 'fornication' was revolting even to average Gentile sentiment. Hence it is best to face the simple suggestion of the word and remember that pagan sentiment viewed ordinary sexual laxity in anything but a serious light (cf. 1 Cor. vi. 9, 13 ff.; 1 Thess. iv. 3). This consideration already weakens the objection that it is strange that 'a moral offence is put second to a ritual one, like participation in an idol-feast' (whether directly or indirectly as in 1 Cor. viii. 10, x. 28). But it is hardly fair to call constructive idolatry a ritual matter: it is far more.

from what is strangled: i. e. so killed that, in eating it, there was risk of eating blood, the material element of life: see next note.

from blood: see Lev. xvii. 10–16 for the broad prohibition of the Jewish law against 'eating blood' (considered as consecrate to religious uses), of which the foregoing might be viewed as a special case (in verse 29, xxi. 25, it more naturally follows the general form of the prohibition). The correctness of the view here taken of these prohibitions seems confirmed by the changed order in which they appear in verse 29 and xxi. 25. For there 'fornication,' as a strictly moral offence, is separated from the other three as ritual in form, and put by itself last.

21. For Moses, &c. This vindicates the reasonableness of the requirements suggested, 'from generations of old' being put in the front of the sentence for emphasis. Such abstinences will not seem to Gentile believers arbitrary or burdensome, but indeed 'necessary matters' (i. e. to any true worship of Israel's God, see verse 28): for they are already accustomed to them as a befitting standard of conduct through the long-standing preaching of Mosaic religion in the synagogues in all their cities ('in every city,' a popular expression by way of emphasis). This is the point which James urges in favour of his compromise. No doubt it is quite true, as Dr. Hort says, that the better pagan sentiment, apart from any Jewish propaganda, itself supported the Jewish

22 Then it seemed good to the apostles and the elders,
with the whole church, to choose men out of their
company, and send them to Antioch with Paul and
Barnabas; *namely*, Judas called Barsabbas, and Silas,
23 chief men among the brethren: and they wrote *thus* by
them, The apostles and the elder brethren unto the

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conscience on some at least of the points, e. g. in 'the feeling of mystery entertained by various peoples of antiquity with respect to blood': cf. Gen. ix. 4. Such an observation is valuable as confirming the naturalness of the points chosen for making explicit the kind of service to which Gentiles pledged themselves in baptism into the name of Jesus as Lord (cf. the renunciations accompanying baptism at a later date). From the point of view of Jewish Christians, on the other hand, observance of such rules by Gentile believers would render possible not only recognition but even full social intercourse, save where the Jewish Christians were of a strict type, as in Judæa (cf. Gal. ii. 11 ff.). Was this latter difficulty contemplated by this Concordat? Much will depend upon the further question whether it was reached before or after Peter's visit to Antioch in Gal. ii. 11–13 (Introduction, p. 25).

xv. 22–35. *The Concordat restores peace at Antioch.* The Pharisaic element was over-ruled. Representative men were chosen to bear the letter embodying the Concordat and expound it orally. So the danger of serious rupture between the original Ecclesia and its more recent developments—a thing fatal at this early stage in Christianity—was avoided. A dissatisfied minority, however, existed, and soon shewed its aggressive spirit by dogging the steps of the great champion of Gentile liberty and Christian catholicity.

22. Note how the decision is represented as the mind of the whole mother church, not merely of its leaders.

Judas called Barsabbas. Was he brother of Joseph Barsabbas (i. 23), who replaced Judas as one of the Twelve? Probably. On Silas see verse 40. It looks as though the former represented the more Hebraic side of the Jerusalem Church, the latter the Hellenistic: so that together they would carry conviction to the two parties at Antioch.

chief men among the brethren: *lit.* 'leading men' (Heb. xiii. 7, 17, 24), apparently not in virtue of formal office but of prophetic gifts (see xiii. 1), though of course they may have ranked as 'elders.' The phrase here seems quite an informal one (cf. Heb. xiii. 7, 17, 24), like our 'men of mark.'

23. The apostles and the elder brethren. This seems the

brethren which are of the Gentiles in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia, greeting: Forasmuch as we have heard that 24
certain which went out from us have troubled you with words, subverting your souls; to whom we gave no commandment; it seemed good unto us, having come to 25
one accord, to choose out men and send them unto you with our beloved Barnabas and Paul, men that have 26
hazarded their lives for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. We have sent therefore Judas and Silas, 27
who themselves also shall tell you the same things by word of mouth. For it seemed good to the Holy Ghost, 28

best rendering, though another is grammatically possible, viz. 'the apostles and the elders—brethren to the brethren from among the Gentiles,' &c. (cf. 2 Macc. i. 1). If it be adopted, then one notes the informal and archaic phrase, 'the elder brethren,' as a water-mark of genuineness. But in either case the form is not one that would readily have occurred to a writer at a later date, looking at the episode from outside, as it were. Further, the inclusion of Syria and Cilicia (forming one Roman province), areas unnamed in connexion with the controversy but probably involved (verse 41; Gal. i. 21), points the same way. For a later writer would tend to name Antioch only or to ignore local limits altogether. This limitation left Paul the freer to modify the advice of this letter in writing to churches like Corinth and Rome.

24. which went out. Words not found in the two oldest MSS., and possibly inserted to avoid the semblance of involving 'the apostles and elders' in the mistaken zeal of the Judaizers. But when we see that the letter is really written as from the church as a whole (cf. verse 22), we see that the phrase 'certain from among us' is quite correct: cf. note on verse 25.

25. having come to one accord. This implies the discussion in the assembly which involved others besides the formal senders of the letter.

26. A genuine emotional touch, reflecting a consideration which must have counted heavily.

28. to the Holy Ghost, and to us. This is often taken as a claim to special inspiration in their conjoint decision. But in view of verses 8-10, 12, cf. x. 47, xi. 17, it may mean no more than that their decision simply echoed the voice of the Holy Spirit audible in the logic of Divine facts: so v. 32, 'We are witnesses of these things, and the Holy Spirit, whom God hath given to them that obey Him.'

and to us, to lay upon you no greater burden than these
29 necessary things; that ye abstain from things sacrificed
to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and
from fornication; from which if ye keep yourselves, it
shall be well with you. Fare ye well.
30 So they, when they were dismissed, came down to
Antioch; and having gathered the multitude together,
31 they delivered the epistle. And when they had read it,
32 they rejoiced for the consolation. And Judas and Silas,
being themselves also prophets, exhorted the brethren with
33 many words, and confirmed them. And after they had
spent some time *there*, they were dismissed in peace
from the brethren unto those that had sent them forth.
35 But Paul and Barnabas tarried in Antioch, teaching and
preaching the word of the Lord, with many others also.
36 And after some days Paul said unto Barnabas, Let us

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these necessary things: i. e. as direct corollaries of faith in Christ.

30. the multitude: rather, 'the whole body,' cf. verse 12: see vi. 2.

31. consolation: rather, 'exhortation,' alluding to the moral in its closing words. This was enforced by the detailed exposition in which Judas and Silas, with prophetic power, 'exhorted' them to compliance with the recommendations, and confirmed them in the principles involved.

[34. Notwithstanding it pleased Silas to abide there still.] This verse of the A. V., omitted by the bulk of ancient MSS., is meant to lead up to verse 40, which presents no real difficulty, since Mark too, whom Barnabas takes with him in verse 39, was last heard of as in Jerusalem (xiii. 13). *Codex Bezae*, one of the two old MSS. containing this verse, adds also, 'but Judas went alone,' making the thing yet plainer.

35. with many others also. Another sign that our author knew more of the Antiochene Church than meets the eye: cf. verse 2. The remark explains how Paul and Barnabas felt free to resume work elsewhere.

Paul's second missionary journey: the first European mission (spring 50—early in 52). xv. 36—xviii. 22.

xv. 36-41. *Paul and Barnabas go on separate missions.*

36. after some days. Acts seems to use this vague formula

return now and visit the brethren in every city wherein we proclaimed the word of the Lord, *and see* how they fare. And Barnabas was minded to take with them 37
John also, who was called Mark. But Paul thought not 38
good to take with them him who withdrew from them from Pamphylia, and went not with them to the work.
And there arose a sharp contention, so that they parted 39
asunder one from the other, and Barnabas took Mark

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for relatively short periods, cf. ix. 19, x. 48, xvi. 12, xxiv. 24. Yet it is generally assumed that Peter's visit to Antioch, in Gal. ii. 11 ff., fell within it. It is hard to see how Paul could leave soon after so unsettling an episode.

in every city, &c. Observe Paul's pastoral solicitude for his converts (cf. 2 Cor. xi. 28) during the testing time which followed their first enthusiasm. Perhaps he was specially anxious to counteract Judaizing tendencies such as had troubled the church in Antioch and the adjacent regions.

38. The wording of Paul's criticism on Mark's conduct affords no hint that it was due to any conscientious scruple, rather than to faint-heartedness in face of the difficulty of the task proposed. Paul was able later to restore Mark to his full confidence, Col. iv. 10; Philem. 24; 2 Tim. iv. 11.

39. a sharp contention, so that, &c. Some suspect that their difference of opinion about Mark would not have issued in the dissolution of their partnership in work, but for the episode given in Gal. ii. 13. This of course assumes that Gal. ii. 1–10 = Acts xv. 1–29. Be this as it may, it inspires confidence in our author as a candid historian, to find him recording a fact which reminds us that the heroes of the gospel were men, and not infallible either in judgement or temper. Though they suffered 'irritation' (as suggested by the word here used) to creep in, on one or both sides, they did the wisest thing in the circumstances, in dividing the field of their joint labours.

Barnabas . . . sailed away unto Cyprus. And here Acts leaves Barnabas, so suggesting that his main work in the providential extension of Christianity was already done: and valuable it had been, both directly and indirectly, in relation to Saul on two occasions at least. Probably Barnabas confined his later ministry to his native Cyprus, though early tradition affords some evidence that he went as far as Alexandria (cf. Clem. *Hom.* i. 9 ff. and the erroneous ascription to him of the Alexandrine *Epistle of Barnabas*).

40 with him, and sailed away unto Cyprus; but Paul chose
Silas, and went forth, being commended by the brethren
41 to the grace of the Lord. And he went through Syria
and Cilicia, confirming the churches.

16 And he came also to Derbe and to Lystra: and be-
hold, a certain disciple was there, named Timothy, the

40. Paul chose Silas. He probably sent for him to Jerusalem. Silas was perhaps a Jewish name: if so, it had also a Gentile equivalent in sound, Silvanus, found in Paul's letters, e.g. 1 Thess. i. 2; 2 Cor. i. 19, as well as in 1 Pet. v. 12. Judging from this and from Acts xvi. 37, Silas was just the man to share Paul's ideals of work in and for the Roman world.

41. confirming the churches. These were, no doubt, mainly of Paul's own foundation during the period between his flight from Jerusalem and his second visit as recorded in Galatians (Gal. i. 21): and the allusion to them (cf. verse 23) is surely one of those 'undesigned coincidences' between Acts and Paul's letters of which Paley made such good use. As to the 'reassuring' effect of his present visit, we may safely connect it in part with the controversy of this chapter: cf. verse 32, xvi. 4 f. This is, indeed, stated in the words added in *Codex Bezae*, 'delivering the commands of the elders,' though it forgets that this region had been directly informed of the Concordat by letter, &c. (xv. 23). These words have, however, a further interest in the light of two kindred glosses added to xv. 5, 12, in both of which mention is made of 'the elders' alone, as the body with whom the decision of this problem lay. This means that to the author of these glosses, representing the second century church (in certain circles of south Asia Minor), the apostles were in such a matter simply the leading elders of the original Christian community, rather than an order apart, entitled to settle matters of faith and practice in virtue of their special commission. This ancient view comes with great weight, since it was no tendency of the second century (save in 'heretical' circles) to belittle the distinctive prerogatives of the Twelve. It is also borne out by an analogy from Josephus, *Jewish War*, vii. 10. 1, in which we read of 'the principal men of the *gerousia*' (council of elders) collecting the Alexandrine Jews (not literally all, of course) to an 'assembly,' and urging 'the multitude' (cf. Acts vi. 2) to a certain line of action, to which they agree. So the apostles are the leading men among the elders.

xvi. 1–5. *South Galatia revisited: Timothy.*

1. Timothy. Apparently of Lystra, a convert of Paul's former visit; cf. 1 Cor. iv. 17, 'Timothy, who is my beloved and faithful

son of a Jewess which believed; but his father was a
Greek. The same was well reported of by the brethren 2
that were at Lystra and Iconium. Him would Paul 3
have to go forth with him; and he took and circumcised

child in the Lord,' and the salutations of his letters to Timothy. See 2 Tim. i. 5, iii. 14 f., for his mother Eunice and the pious training received from her and her mother Lois. This accords excellently with the high repute in which Timothy, though still young, stood among his fellow believers, even in Iconium. Hort notes the attention drawn ('and behold,' cf. i 10, viii. 27, x. 17, xii. 7) to this meeting with Timothy, at a time when a junior helper was needed to replace Mark, as to something specially timely or providential. In any case our author's staying to note in such detail the episode of his association with Paul, shews that he regarded it as of great moment for the history. It was not only that Paul thus found one of his most devoted fellow workers, but that in his case Paul shewed, as in a conspicuous instance, his conciliatory attitude towards the Jews, his fellow countrymen (cf. Rom. ix. 1–3, x. 1), whenever he could consider their susceptibilities without sacrificing principle. See next note.

3. He circumcised Timothy for the sake of the gospel among the numerous Jews in those regions (see 1 Cor. ix. 20), on the ground that he was by birth a 'son of the Law' on his mother's side, and therefore might naturally conform to the usages of what was so far his national religion. The case of Titus (Gal. ii. 3) was quite different, he being a pure Gentile, and his circumcision being urged as of necessity, on principle, and not as a voluntary sacrifice to expediency for the greater good of others. Perhaps, too, Paul was anxious to commend the Concordat to the minds of Jewish Christians in the region by shewing deference to Jewish Law in relation to one on whom it had at least a half-claim.

to go forth with him. We seem, as Dr. Hort urges (*Christian Ecclesia*, 181 ff.), to have in Paul's letters to Timothy echoes of the way in which the young man's special qualifications for this work were recognized by 'prophecy' (as in the case of Barnabas and Saul at Antioch, xiii. 1 f.), and then enhanced in the solemn service of setting apart for their exercise, somewhat in the manner of Acts xiii. 3. There Paul exhorts him by 'the prophecies which led the way to thee (marked him out), that by them (i. e. in their power) thou mayest war the good warfare' (1 Tim. i. 18). His separation or ordination to the exercise of the 'gift' to which these prophecies related, and the manifest presence of which dated from this service, was 'by the hands of the presbytery' (1 Tim. iv. 14), i. e. the body of local elders, on

him because of the Jews that were in those parts: for
4 they all knew that his father was a Greek. And as they
went on their way through the cities, they delivered them
the decrees for to keep, which had been ordained of
5 the apostles and elders that were at Jerusalem. So the
churches were strengthened in the faith, and increased
in number daily.
6 And they went through the region of Phrygia and
Galatia, having been forbidden of the Holy Ghost to
7 speak the word in Asia; and when they were come over
against Mysia, they assayed to go into Bithynia; and the
8 Spirit of Jesus suffered them not; and passing by Mysia, they

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this occasion reinforced by the inclusion of Paul himself (2 Tim. i. 6; cf. note on xv. 41 for apostles as elders).

5. were strengthened in the faith: *lit.* 'were stiffened (made robust) in their faith,' in contrast to previous vacillation on the matter of the 'resolutions decided on by the apostles and elders' (verse 4). It is one of the difficulties to the identification of Paul's visit in Gal. ii. 1 ff. with that of Acts xv, that he should have had to write such a letter as Galatians to these churches *after* the strengthening here described.

xvi. 6–10. *Their course Divinely directed to Greece.*

6. the region of Phrygia and Galatia. A single region is here meant, that which might be described indifferently as Phrygian (ethnically) or Galatic (politically), i. e. 'the Phrygo-Galatic country.' This included Iconium and Antioch of Pisidia, but perhaps also the borderlands of old Phrygia and Galatia to the north-west of Antioch. For it is implied that the prohibition against preaching in the province of 'Asia' preceded their leaving the region in question; and their skirting the east of Mysia (part of 'Asia') is mentioned immediately after, as if no considerable region intervened, as it would if the Phrygo-Galatic country meant only that about Antioch.

7. into Bithynia: lying to north-east of Mysia. As we find the gospel widely spread in Bithynia at the opening of the second century, as witnessed by the Roman governor Pliny the Younger (writing in A.D. 112), we may infer that it seemed a promising field. But God had harder pioneer work for the apostle of the Gentiles to do, namely, to cross the boundary between East and West and plant the gospel firmly in Greece itself.

the Spirit of Jesus suffered them not. A remarkable

came down to Troas. And a vision appeared to Paul 9
in the night; There was a man of Macedonia standing,
beseeching him, and saying, Come over into Macedonia,
and help us. And when he had seen the vision, straight- 10
way we sought to go forth into Macedonia, concluding
that God had called us for to preach the gospel unto them.

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clause, the meaning of which we can only dimly guess. The phrase 'the Spirit of Jesus' is unique in the N. T., but is no creation of the author of Acts; rather, as its nearest parallel is in 2 Cor. iii. 17 f. (cf. Rom. viii. 9; 1 Cor. ii. 14, 16, xv. 45), where Jesus 'the Lord' is virtually identified with 'the Spirit'—as the active revealing power in men's hearts—it reflects Paul's own account of the matter as it impressed the companion to whom in some sense we owe this part of the narrative. For our author's sympathy with the idea implied, see i. 1 f. and notes. Perhaps what is meant is a vision under the form of Jesus himself, cf. xxii. 17, 'while I prayed in the temple, I fell into a trance, and saw him (Jesus), saying,' &c. Compare and contrast the vision of 'a man of Macedonia,' through which Paul's next orders came.

8. passing by Mysia: i. e. not staying to preach in it, though traversing it in part, Troas being in Mysia.

Troas. Alexandria Troas, situate on the coast south-west of the ancient Troy, was now a Roman colony, and the chief port in the north-west of the Ægean Sea for intercourse between Asia and Europe: cf. xx. 5; 2 Cor. ii. 3; 2 Tim. iv. 13.

9 f. The positive guidance to which the former prohibitions lead up. It is quite likely that the 'man, a certain Macedonian,' who appeared in vision to Paul, was in the semblance of some individual whom he had met at Troas. Ramsay infers this from the turn of the phrase, and suggests Luke himself. But this is very dubious, in view of the way in which he (assumed to speak in the 'we' passages) immediately associates himself ('gathering that God had called *us*') with the call to evangelize the Macedonians. The figure in the vision surely represents the unconverted Macedonians, not a Christian pleading their need. Hence its original would not be one already fit to share in evangelizing them.

10. straightway we sought . . . us. In a writer of such plastic power in the moulding of his materials as the author of Acts, the first person, involving eye-witness, cannot be due to his abrupt use of a written source by another hand. To begin 'inverted commas,' so to speak, without citing one's authority, is an unheard-of literary method. Therefore our author is speaking *in propria persona*, as one of Paul's company: and we can narrow down the possibilities of the case, so as to infer with practical certainty

11 Setting sail therefore from Troas, we made a straight
course to Samothrace, and the day following to Neapolis;
12 and from thence to Philippi, which is a city of Macedonia,

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(by the aid of tradition) that he was Luke 'the beloved physician.' See further, Introduction, pp. 20 ff. How are we to explain the emergence of the personal note just at Troas? Either Luke joined the party there, or we must find some reason for his feeling relatively in the background up to this point. May not his 'detachment of attitude,' so far (supposing he started with Paul from Antioch, as medical attendant), have been due to his feeling a mere spectator while Paul was traversing old ground or awaiting the call to fresh work (similarly even Silas' presence is not alluded to until xvi. 4, Paul being till then mainly in question); whereas he feels himself one of the party indeed from the point when the call to active evangelization comes at Troas? He remembers the thrill which ran through Paul's whole company when 'the call' finally came, after long waiting: and the 'we' reflects his emotional sympathy as he writes years after. As to the cessation of the personal note at certain points (viz. xvi. 40—xx. 4; xxi. 19—xxvi. 32; xxviii. 17—end), even when we gather from its subsequent use that Luke was actually on the spot (xx. 16 f., xxi. 1; xxi. 19, xxvii. 1), the reason is perhaps to be found in the degree to which at times the memory of his own participation (e. g. in journeyings, where all were on a sort of level) was overshadowed by that of Paul's action as absorbing all attention: cf. notes on xvi. 40, xx. 5, also Appended Note E.

xvi. 11–40. *First steps in Europe: Philippi.*

11. Setting sail . . . from Troas . . . Ramsay observes that Luke 'has the true Greek feeling for the sea,' and generally 'records the incidents from harbour to harbour.'

Samothrace, to which they made 'a straight run'—the wind well astern—is an island midway between Troas and Neapolis. From its elevation it is a landmark for seamen in those waters.

12. Philippi. Founded by Philip, father of Alexander the Great, it now enjoyed (since the decisive battle which helped the first Augustus to the imperial purple) the status of a Roman colony of the proudest type (with the *Jus Italicum*). It was, perhaps, largely in virtue of this pre-eminence as 'a miniature likeness of the great Roman people' (Gellius, xvi. 13), that it felt itself to be, as Luke puts it, 'First city of its division of Macedonia—a colony.' Such seems to be the true sense of this difficult expression, though Amphipolis still claimed its old superiority, and Luke's words apply rather to the time of writing than to the date of Paul's visit. Some, however, prefer to take 'first' in

the first of the district, a *Roman* colony: and we were in this city tarrying certain days. And on the sabbath day 13
we went forth without the gate by a river side, where we supposed there was a place of prayer; and we sat down, and spake unto the women which were come together.
And a certain woman named Lydia, a seller of purple, 14
of the city of Thyatira, one that worshipped God, heard

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a geographical sense, i. e. first reached from Asia, regarding Neapolis as Thracian. But this view, at best, yields rather a feeble comment for Luke to insert.

But besides its Roman features, of which Paul makes use in his letter to the Philippians, it was a meeting-point of East and West, as we are reminded by the cases of Lydia and the soothsaying girl. It was, in fact, quite a cosmopolitan centre, an excellent strategic point to seize for the gospel.

13. A most vivid verse, especially the words, 'where we were reckoning on there being a place of prayer.' Such an informal place of Jewish worship as is here described (cf. the latter part of the verse) points to the fewness of the Jews in Philippi; else we should read of a regular synagogue. Its position, outside the city, on the bank of the river Gangites (a confluent of the larger Strymon), was for the sake of ceremonial washings: cf. a decree of Halicarnassus (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10. 23) allowing the Jews 'to make their places of prayer by the sea, according to their native custom.' Some sort of building was doubtless involved by a *proseuché*, but one more of the nature of an enclosure, marking off the sacred spot from the profane foot, than of a roofed building like a synagogue.

spake unto the women. There is good evidence that the position of woman was freer in Macedonia than on more strictly Greek soil: cf. xvi. 14, xvii. 4, 12, also note on xiii. 50 touching South Galatia. As to the mention of women only as here gathered, even on a sabbath, we must remember that it was easier for Gentile women to adopt Judaism fully than for men (who had to submit to circumcision): and some at least of these women were, like Lydia, proselytesses. But the absence of male Jews proves how much Philippi was the Roman colony, cf. 21.

14. The name Lydia denotes its bearer's origin, Thyatira being a city of Lydia famous for its dyes ('The Dyers' Guild' occurs on an inscription at Thyatira). She may have been a widow, living in honourable independence as an agent for the purple-dyed goods of Thyatira, and with a considerable household of dependents (cf. 15).

us: whose heart the Lord opened, to give heed unto the
15 things which were spoken by Paul. And when she was
baptized, and her household, she besought us, saying,
If ye have judged me to be faithful to the Lord, come
into my house, and abide *there*. And she constrained
us.
16 And it came to pass, as we were going to the place of
prayer, that a certain maid having a spirit of divination
met us, which brought her masters much gain by sooth-
17 saying. The same following after Paul and us cried
out, saying, These men are servants of the Most High
God, which proclaim unto you the way of salvation.
18 And this she did for many days. But Paul, being sore
troubled, turned and said to the spirit, I charge thee
in the name of Jesus Christ to come out of her. And
it came out that very hour.

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15. and her household: cf. 32 f., where Paul and Silas preach to all in the jailor's house, and 'he and all his' are baptized forthwith (see also xviii. 8). Such wholesale conversion strikes us as artificial: but we must remember the solidarity of feeling in an ancient family, and the example of an earnest mistress would greatly sway her domestics, some of whom at least were no doubt among the women of verse 13. See Phil. iv. 2 for the prominence of women in the Philippian church.

16. having a spirit of divination: *lit.* 'a spirit, a Python.' Pytho was an ancient title for the prophetess of Apollo Pythius, the slayer of the serpent Python. 'Python' thus came to mean a person possessed by a spirit of divination, and is sometimes used for a ventriloquist—which may be the meaning here intended. Whatever the exact faculty of this slave-girl, it is true to analogy that she should possess a certain heightened perception, especially as influenced by the moral magnetism of strong personality. See next verse.

17. the Most High God. The title 'God the Highest' (*Hypsistos*) is one known to have been in wide use in this region, and to have served as a common term, so to speak, between the pagans and Jewish monotheism.

the way of salvation: rather, 'a way of salvation,' a phrase more appropriate to the girl's vague idea of their message.

But when her masters saw that the hope of their gain 19
was gone, they laid hold on Paul and Silas, and dragged
them into the marketplace before the rulers, and when 20
they had brought them unto the magistrates, they said,
These men, being Jews, do exceedingly trouble our
city, and set forth customs which it is not lawful for us 21
to receive, or to observe, being Romans. And the 22
multitude rose up together against them: and the
magistrates rent their garments off them, and commanded
to beat them with rods. And when they had laid 23
many stripes upon them, they cast them into prison,
charging the jailor to keep them safely: who, having 24
received such a charge, cast them into the inner prison,
and made their feet fast in the stocks. But about 25
midnight Paul and Silas were praying and singing hymns
unto God, and the prisoners were listening to them;
and suddenly there was a great earthquake, so that the 26

19. was gone: rather, 'gone out,' 'departed,' echoing the use of the same word touching the spirit in verse 18. Is this a touch of satire?

20. the magistrates. The Greek here represents the Latin *praetors*. In Roman colonies the magistrates were usually *duoviri*, who sometimes assumed to themselves the dignified title, *praetors* (for instance at Capua). Inscriptions witness the existence of *duoviri* at Philippi, who probably were styled, locally and by courtesy, *praetors*.

20 f. being Jews. The force of this charge of upsetting public order by Jewish propaganda, inconsistent with loyalty to the Roman name, in which Philippians took special pride, was enhanced by the fact that Judaism had so little foothold in this colony (cf. verse 13). So far local public opinion, unlike that in Thessalonica (xvii. 7), does not seem to have realized the distinction between Christianity and ordinary Judaism.

22. The magistrates were touched on a sensitive point, their reputation as thoroughgoing Romans; and they allowed themselves to be hurried by the mob into drastic action, without waiting to hear the case in due form: cf. 37. Verse 23 reflects their excess of zeal.

26 ff. The naturalness of the effects of earthquake upon such

foundations of the prison-house were shaken: and immediately all the doors were opened; and every one's
27 bands were loosed. And the jailor being roused out of sleep, and seeing the prison doors open, drew his sword, and was about to kill himself, supposing that the
28 prisoners had escaped. But Paul cried with a loud voice, saying, Do thyself no harm: for we are all here.
29 And he called for lights, and sprang in, and, trembling
30 for fear, fell down before Paul and Silas, and brought them out, and said, Sirs, what must I do to be saved?
31 And they said, Believe on the Lord Jesus, and thou
32 shalt be saved, thou and thy house. And they spake the word of the Lord unto him, with all that were in his
33 house. And he took them the same hour of the night, and washed their stripes; and was baptized, he and all
34 his, immediately. And he brought them up into his

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a prison as this one is likely to have been—including the forcing of the doors and the loosening of the attachments of the prisoners' chains in the walls—is defended by Ramsay, from his acquaintance with Turkish prisons. The vigorous realism of the description of the jailor's conduct all can feel. One must remember that in the confusion and terror of an earthquake the jailor might well lose self-control, and act in panic.

30. Sirs, what must I do to be saved? By the time that these words were uttered, the jailor's immediate fear for his personal safety must have subsided: but in the quickened consciousness of a moment of great danger, when a man's end seems near, dormant feelings touching his spiritual state and destiny are apt to awake to vivid life. Hence the question, though vague in its purport, and devoid of clear notion touching the 'salvation' of which these calm men were the heralds, must be taken as having a deeper meaning than concern for bodily safety.

31 ff. Though we may suppose that the faith of some members of a household which came over thus *en masse* to an unfamiliar religion was rather crude and impersonal, yet at least it was after hearing 'the word of the Lord (Jesus)' that they were baptized: so with Lydia's household, verse 15.

34. brought them up. Either theirs was an underground cell (cf. 24), or the jailor's house was above the prison.

house, and set meat before them, and rejoiced greatly, with all his house, having believed in God.

But when it was day, the magistrates sent the serjeants, 35
saying, Let those men go. And the jailor reported the 36
words to Paul, *saying*, The magistrates have sent to let you go: now therefore come forth, and go in peace.
But Paul said unto them, They have beaten us publicly, 37
uncondemned, men that are Romans, and have cast us into prison; and do they now cast us out privily? nay verily; but let them come themselves and bring us out. And the serjeants reported these words unto the 38
magistrates: and they feared, when they heard that they were Romans; and they came and besought them; 39
and when they had brought them out, they asked them

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35. serjeants: *lit.* 'rod-bearers,' the Greek for *lictors*, the attendants of Roman magistrates, such as *praetors*, whom the *duoviri* copied.

saying, Let those men go. Either the earthquake had aroused their fear lest they had affronted a foreign deity through his servants; or they had, on second thoughts, realized that the measures of the day before had been hasty and irregular, or were at any rate enough to vindicate the slighted majesty of Rome.

37. uncondemned: in the sense that their case had not been heard to the end (*re incognita*) before sentence had been passed.

men that are Romans. This is the second and graver point, viz. that in giving the accused no time to explain or claim their rights they had unwittingly violated the fundamental privilege of Roman citizenship (their special pride!) before the law, viz. immunity from stripes and bonds: cf. xxii. 25 for these two phrases in the opposite order. For Paul's Roman citizenship see xxii. 28; of Silas' we know nothing further.

privily: adding insult to injury, they hope to cover up a crime and a blunder by underhand means. Every word in this verse tells.

38. feared. Their offence would have warranted permanent degradation from office.

39. The way in which *Codex Bezae* amplifies this verse, in order to bring out its spirit more fully, serves as the best commentary on it (and so shews at once the strength and weakness of the Bezan text here and elsewhere). 'And they came with many

40 to go away from the city. And they went out of the prison, and entered into *the house of* Lydia: and when they had seen the brethren, they comforted them, and departed.

17 Now when they had passed through Amphipolis and

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friends (to carry weight) into the prison, and besought them to go forth, saying, We were ignorant of the truth about you, that ye are righteous men. And they led them out and besought them, saying, From out this city depart ye, lest the mob gather again before us, shouting out against you.' This hits off the situation exactly. The local magistrates had failed to stand up to the mob before; and they feared the recurrence of the ordeal, knowing that next time they dared not make scapegoats of these unbefriended Jews, since they were now clothed with the inviolability of Roman citizenship, and could even appeal to Cæsar. It was important to Paul and Silas to have forced the magistrates to acknowledge their rights, since Rome's protection from mob violence was essential to their work everywhere; and a precedent was being created, the knowledge of which would spread in the region concerned. It was of moment also to the author of Acts to bring out the fact that Roman law had originally been on the side of Christians, as peaceful and law-abiding: for it was a 'truth for the times,' when he wrote.

40. they . . . departed. Most infer from this that our eye-witness (who was not involved in the above episode) was left behind to shepherd the few feeble sheep, who, as mainly women, specially needed such aid. This may have been the case for a time; but, if so, only for a very short time, Luke being Paul's medical attendant. We seem very soon to find touches which imply his unseen presence (xvii. 3, 5–9, 14, 16 ff., especially 34; xviii. 2 f., 7, 12–17, 18, 20 f.); for they are as circumstantial as those which mark the so-called 'we' sections. And further (on the principles laid down in xvi. 10), Paul and Silas having come to engross attention in Philippi, it was quite natural to continue in terms of them alone.

xvii. 1–9. *Thessalonica.*

1. Amphipolis and Apollonia: both on the *Egnatian Way* (running from the Hellespont to Dyrrhachium on the Adriatic), one of the great arteries of the Roman Empire. They seem to have been little more than resting-places of the party in traversing the hundred miles between Philippi and Thessalonica, the reason being that there was no synagogue in either, to serve as a half-prepared soil for the gospel.

Apollonia, they came to Thessalonica, where was a synagogue of the Jews: and Paul, as his custom was, went in 2
unto them, and for three sabbath days reasoned with them
from the scriptures, opening and alleging, that it behoved 3
the Christ to suffer, and to rise again from the dead;
and that this Jesus, whom, *said he*, I proclaim unto you,
is the Christ. And some of them were persuaded, and 4
consorted with Paul and Silas; and of the devout Greeks

Thessalonica: the capital of all 'Macedonia' or Northern Greece, a city of splendid commercial situation at the head of the Thermaic Gulf. Hence it retained its position during the Middle Ages; and even to-day, as *Saloniki*, it is the second city of Turkey in Europe. The fact that so large a city had only one synagogue confirms the impression already gained, that there were but few Jews in Macedonia. But, true to his habit, Paul began with them: and, true to his habit of tracing the relations of Judaism and the gospel in the early days, our historian dwells on this side of the work in Thessalonica.

2. for three sabbath days. Some render 'for three weeks': but cf. xiii. 42, 44, for the likelihood that it was only in sabbath meetings that he was able to 'reason' or discourse before the Jews as a class, as here seems contemplated.

3. opening and alleging: i. e. opening up their meaning, and adducing them in proof of the two great theses which are here quoted, as if *verbatim*. For the first of these, cf. 1 Thess. iv. 14, 'If we believe that Jesus died and rose again,' &c. (cf. Luke xxiv. 25, 46); and with the latter, cf. verse 7.

4. consorted: i. e. threw in their lot with (*lit.* 'were allotted to'; cf. 'were added' in ii. 41, 47, for the idea of Divine grace as involved in their adhesion).

the devout Greeks and the **chief women** were both reached through the preaching in the synagogue, to which they were more or less attached: cf. xiii. 43, 50, xvi. 13, and below verse 12. Thus no mention is made of the direct converts from idolatry who appear so prominently in 1 Thess. i. 9, 'ye turned unto God from idols, to serve a living and true God' (cf. ii. 14, iv. 7). The inferior text, feeling this, has altered the wording so as to distinguish 'the devout' (proselytes) and the 'Greeks.' But Acts is not trying to give an exhaustive account of the work at Thessalonica. In the days between the three sabbaths, as well as after the last of them (when the synagogue became closed to him, see verse 5), Paul probably employed all his leisure from his handicraft (1 Thess. ii. 9) in preaching to all whose ear he could

a great multitude, and of the chief women not a few.
5 But the Jews, being moved with jealousy, took unto
them certain vile fellows of the rabble, and gathering
a crowd, set the city on an uproar; and assaulting the
house of Jason, they sought to bring them forth to the
6 people. And when they found them not, they dragged
Jason and certain brethren before the rulers of the city,
crying, These that have turned the world upside down
7 are come hither also; whom Jason hath received: and
these all act contrary to the decrees of Cæsar, saying

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get; and among these would be many devotees of the native religion. But Acts is bent on shewing how persecution sprang here, as in most cases, from the Jews, though the evangelists ever respected their prerogative right to a first hearing of the gospel; and how the representatives of Roman law and order acted as a moderating and protective force.

5. There is nothing to shew that this action of the Jews, 'in their jealousy,' took effect immediately after the third and last of the addresses in the synagogue, which caused a cleavage to appear between those who had been attending (see Phil. iv. 16 for the fact that the Philippians had time to send financial aid at least twice to Paul during this stay in Thessalonica). A single line of thought is being followed out, viz. Jewish enmity as the root of persecution, and the success of Paul and Silas, particularly among their own adherents, as fostering that enmity. It was enough to indicate this, without going into the full measure of the preachers' success as seen among pure pagans, touching whom the Jews felt far less concern.

vile fellows of the rabble: rather, 'evil fellows of the class of market-loungers.'

Jason: probably a Jew (cf. Rom. xvi. 21). His Jewish name may have been Joshua (cf. 2 Macc. i. 7).

to bring them forth to the people: better, 'to arraign them before the people,' i. e. the popular assembly, which shared with the magistrates power in a 'free city.'

6. the rulers of the city: i. e. the burgomasters—the literal equivalent of *politarchs*. This title is proved to have been the exact local name for the city magistrates, down even to the termination of the word, which is unknown in classical authors, but is vouched for by local inscriptions, including some of the first century.

7. and these all: meaning the Christian preachers and their sympathizers.

that there is another king, *one* Jesus. And they troubled 8
the multitude and the rulers of the city, when they heard
these things. And when they had taken security from 9
Jason and the rest, they let them go.

And the brethren immediately sent away Paul and 10
Silas by night unto Berœa: who when they were come
thither went into the synagogue of the Jews. Now 11
these were more noble than those in Thessalonica, in
that they received the word with all readiness of mind,
examining the scriptures daily, whether these things
were so. Many of them therefore believed; also of the 12
Greek women of honourable estate, and of men, not a

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act contrary to the decrees of Cæsar. The 'decrees' meant were the treason laws (e. g. *lex Julia de majestate*) hedging round the sacrosanct person of the emperor. The Jews subtly insinuated that the preachers, in proclaiming Jesus as Messianic king, were setting up a rival emperor—'another and distinct king' ('king' being a usual title for 'Cæsar' in the eastern parts of the empire). The gravity of the charge is reflected in its effect, described in verse 8.

9. had taken security: or 'bail,' binding the accused to come up again for trial, if required. Probably the magistrates, on reflection, felt that the charge, as put forward by the Jews or their irresponsible tools, lacked substance.

xvii. 10–15. *Berœa.*

There was nothing for it but to withdraw, in the hope of being able to return quietly ere long; see 1 Thess. ii. 17–20, verses which shew how loth Paul was to be 'bereft,' even 'for a short season,' of converts who were his 'glory' and 'joy.' But we gather that they behaved right nobly, becoming 'an example to all that believe in Macedonia and Achaia'; insomuch that from them 'sounded forth the word of the Lord, not only in Macedonia and Achaia, but in every place' the fame of their faith towards God went forth (1 Thess. i. 7 f.). Their steadfastness was a model to believers in Philippi and Berœa, in Athens and Corinth: while it was a testimony to the power of the gospel that reached far and wide.

11. more noble: i. e. more ingenuous or open-minded.

12. Observe once more the prominence of women (perhaps largely proselytesses) in Macedonian society, and contrast the case of Athens, verse 34. Of the men the name of one at least is

13 few. But when the Jews of Thessalonica had knowledge
that the word of God was proclaimed of Paul at Berœa
also, they came thither likewise, stirring up and troubling
14 the multitudes. And then immediately the brethren
sent forth Paul to go as far as to the sea: and Silas and
15 Timothy abode there still. But they that conducted
Paul brought him as far as Athens: and receiving a
commandment unto Silas and Timothy that they should
come to him with all speed, they departed.
16 Now while Paul waited for them at Athens, his spirit
was provoked within him, as he beheld the city full of
17 idols. So he reasoned in the synagogue with the Jews

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known to us, viz. 'Sopater, son of Pyrrhus' (xx. 4), a name Greek in type. Hence the Sosipater, named in Rom. xvi. 21 along with Jason as of Jewish birth ('my kinsmen'), is probably another person. The name, in this form, occurs among the *politarchs* commemorated on an arch in Thessalonica (age of Vespasian, 69–79 A.D.).

14. to go as far as to the sea . . . as far as Athens. There seems to be a contrast between the plan and its execution. Perhaps it was left open what he would do next. Paul seems to have had thoughts of a secret visit to Thessalonica by sea, to support the faith of his sorely tried converts there (1 Thess. ii. 17 f.): but he found his way barred, probably by Jewish plots against his life (cf. ibid. 15 f.). Paul's escort, then, finding that the Jews would be on his track as long as he was within the borders of Macedonia, saw him safe over the sea to Athens. This is borne out by the message they took back to Silas and Timothy, as if Paul had changed his plans since leaving Berœa.

15. with all speed. From 1 Thess. iii. 1 f. it appears that Timothy at least did hasten to Paul's side. But he was sent back without delay to reassure the Thessalonians, news of whose perplexity at their 'afflictions' had meantime reached Paul (perhaps by letter, cf. notes on xviii. 5), in the same way as the churches of South Galatia were reassured (xiv. 22), viz. by the declaration that 'hereunto we are appointed' of God (1 Thess. iii. 3 f.).

xvii. 16–34. *Athens.*

17 f. These verses describe (in imperfects) an activity lasting over days or even weeks. Then 19 ff. record what happened one day by way of climax, when frequenters of the Agora had already

and the devout persons, and in the marketplace every
day with them that met with him. And certain also of 18
the Epicurean and Stoic philosophers encountered him.
And some said, What would this babbler say? other

become more or less accustomed to the figure of the unknown Jew, whose tone of conviction, despite his feeble presence and lack of polished periods (2 Cor. x. 10), challenged attention.

17. in the marketplace. The Athenian 'Agora,' like the great square of some mediæval Italian city, was the place whither at certain hours men resorted to hear and discuss the news of the day, and where philosophers like Socrates found an informal audience, as they set forth their favourite ideas to any with whom they chanced to fall into talk.

18. Among those who crossed Paul's path in this way were men professing one or other of the reigning philosophies, the Stoic and the Epicurean. The former conceived God as a living force embodied in Nature, rather than as a person; and piqued itself on a 'virtue' which consisted in unemotional 'indifference' to pain and pleasure of all sorts, in the interests of a certain lofty 'freedom' of soul. Its unworldliness was of a rather loveless, self-centred order, too often marred by pride and contempt for the common herd of humanity.

The Epicureans, on the other hand, while recognizing in a perfunctory way certain gods living an untroubled life far apart from human concerns, regarded this our world as the outcome of chance interplay of primitive atoms; and held happiness to lie, not in the vaunted 'virtue' of their Stoic rivals, but in real, sensible pleasure. But pleasure, they taught, could best be secured by avoiding all excess (as followed by pain), and by seeking a calm, measured enjoyment of the higher sensations, and chiefly those of the mind, as most exempt from disturbing passion or emotion. In a word, their aim was cultured enjoyment of this life, since soul perished with body.

Thus from very different standpoints the two philosophies agreed in throwing man upon himself as the author of his own happiness, whether called virtue (unemotional self-possession) or pleasure (imperturbable use of measured enjoyments), and in regarding the ordinary man, with his superstitious hopes and fears, and his vain enthusiasms, with something of contempt. In this at least they were at one with those Pharisees whose dogmas they would so heartily have despised, had they cared to trouble themselves about them at all; for they too 'trusted in themselves' and 'set the rest of men at nought' (Luke xviii. 9).

this babbler: rather, 'picker-up of odds and ends,' the

some, He seemeth to be a setter forth of strange gods:
19 because he preached Jesus and the resurrection. And
they took hold of him, and brought him unto the
Areopagus, saying, May we know what this new teaching

Athenian colloquial for one with a crude smattering of ideas. To Athenians Paul would seem a half-educated person, who had got hold of certain tags of Greek thought by the wrong end, as it were. His central ideas, which gave unity to his thought, were different from theirs, and seemed outlandish. Those who got some inkling of what his main themes were, perceived that they were religious, and styled him 'a setter forth of foreign deities' (*daimones*). This was the light in which his gospel of Jesus and the Resurrection presented itself to polytheists. Many see in the plural 'deities' proof that, by some confusion of thought, Paul's hearers personalized the Resurrection (probably Christ's, as pledge of that of others, verse 31), on which he no doubt laid his wonted stress (cf. xiii. 30 f.). Paul's declaration of the Resurrection, not as a mere fact in the history of Jesus, but as a principle of life for the believer, might suggest to casual hearers some mystical entity, or even a female deity (*anastasis* being a feminine form), like several representing moral qualities. Others, however, think that our author would have made this meaning plainer, had he intended it, and take the plural in a vague or generic sense, appealing to the speech in explanation of the phrase, 'the resurrection.'

19 ff. The speech which follows, as well as the whole way in which Paul becomes 'to the Athenians an Athenian,' has been urged both for and against the historicity of the picture of Paul at Athens. But we must remember, to begin with, that Paul was no mere Jew: in Tarsus he had already breathed the atmosphere of a university city. Further, the way in which he is represented as drawn quite incidentally, through the passionate protest of his soul against practical idolatry, into the task of combating it in word, should make us slow to regard the opening part of his speech as more philosophic in cast than was natural under the conditions in one so versatile as Paul. Finally, we have seen reason (see xvi. 40) to believe that Luke was with Paul and actually heard the speech (cf. verse 34).

19. Here we pass to a special occasion. According to many certain persons, rather more curious than their fellows, led Paul away to the comparative quiet of the eminence north of the Agora, known as Areopagus or Mars' Hill, in order to get from him a connected discourse (like those of the rhetoricians of the day called 'displays,' *epideixeis*) upon his 'new doctrine.' But Ram

is, which is spoken by thee? For thou bringest certain 20
strange things to our ears: we would know therefore
what these things mean. (Now all the Athenians and 21
the strangers sojourning there spent their time in nothing
else, but either to tell or to hear some new thing.)
And Paul stood in the midst of the Areopagus, and said, 22
Ye men of Athens, in all things I perceive that ye are
somewhat superstitious. For as I passed along, and 23
observed the objects of your worship, I found also an
altar with this inscription, TO AN UNKNOWN GOD. What

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say thinks he was brought before the Council (cf. verse 22) called after the locality 'Areopagus,' in order to have his qualifications as a fit and proper person to 'lecture' in public duly tested. Of such a motive there is no trace in Acts. Nothing happens after his speech to shew that any privilege was in question. Curiosity is satisfied; that is all. Yet perhaps those who brought Paul to 'the Areopagus' felt that their queries would be most fully met by making him state his beliefs before a body which had in some sense charge of religion and morals in Athens.

21. some new thing: or 'something more novel (than usual).' This verse exactly hits off the spirit of the place.

22 ff. In his speech Paul meets the soul of paganism halfway in its uncertain gropings. 'The popular philosophy inclined towards pantheism, the popular religion was polytheistic; but Paul starts from the simplest platform common to both. There exists something in the way of a Divine nature' (Ramsay). To this Paul makes direct appeal.

22. in the midst of the Areopagus. Ramsay appeals to this phrase, along with 'from among them' (*lit.* 'from the midst of them') in verse 33, to prove that the Council of Areopagus is in question.

somewhat superstitious: marg. 'religious.' R.V. is clearly better than the A.V., 'too superstitious'; for Paul intends to be conciliatory. Probably the word he uses had just that ambiguity in usage which suggested religious zeal, while hinting that it might be more wisely directed. 'Unusually addicted to the worship of divinities' would be an exact rendering.

23. to an unknown God: marg. 'to the unknown God.' The Greek is simply 'to unknown God.' a phrase the ambiguity of which is utilized by Paul, who sees in it implicit testimony to the yearning of the soul, even amid paganism, after a God transcending the forms under which it was taught to reverence the Divine.

therefore ye worship in ignorance, this set I forth unto
24 you. The God that made the world and all things
therein, he, being Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth
25 not in temples made with hands; neither is he served
by men's hands, as though he needed anything, seeing
he himself giveth to all life, and breath, and all things;
26 and he made of one every nation of men for to dwell
on all the face of the earth, having determined *their*
appointed seasons, and the bounds of their habitation;
27 that they should seek God, if haply they might feel after
him, and find him, though he is not far from each one of
28 us: for in him we live, and move, and have our being;
as certain even of your own poets have said, For we are

The original purport of the inscription is of very little moment. Probably, however, it meant homage to some god whose exact name or attributes were unknown to the worshippers, who yet desired to place themselves under his protection in some relation.

in ignorance: i. e. 'not knowing what it is.'

24–28. Here Paul sketches a noble natural theology, in forms of thought adapted to his cultured audience, just as he had sketched it in ruder outline for the untutored Lycaonians of Lystra.

25. In this verse, which echoes passages in the Prophets and Psalms in particular, Paul implies that worship befitting the Giver of all must be something of a higher order than the material, namely, the self-surrender of the human spirit, which he hints, in verse 28, is itself akin to the Divine.

26. made of one: i. e. 'of one nature' (cf. 'of one blood,' the gloss found in most MSS.). 'Of one progenitor' is unlikely in an address to pagans. The doctrine of the unity of human nature was taught by the Stoics, even in the high form underlying the citation at the end of verse 28. But it was not made an argument, as here, against polytheism, which, by placing each nation under its own god, virtually denied the unity of man.

having determined, &c. Probably these words are meant to suggest God's overruling in human history, which has a common goal as determined by a common human nature, with its deep, if obscure, feeling after the true God. Nor is He a distant or uninterested Being (as the Epicureans taught): rather, to His living presence we owe our life and very being (27 f.).

28. certain even of your own poets. The words cited are

also his offspring. Being then the offspring of God, we 29
ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto gold,
or silver, or stone, graven by art and device of man.
The times of ignorance therefore God overlooked; but 30
now he commandeth men that they should all everywhere
repent: inasmuch as he hath appointed a day, in the 31
which he will judge the world in righteousness by the
man whom he hath ordained; whereof he hath given
assurance unto all men, in that he hath raised him from
the dead.

Now when they heard of the resurrection of the 32
dead, some mocked; but others said, We will hear thee

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found in Aratus of Soli in Cilicia, Paul's native province, and in a slightly different form in Cleanthes—both Stoics of the third century B. C.

29 ff. Having reached this high level, Paul casts a glance back on idolatry as something now seen to be unworthy of man as well as of God; and then advances to the thought of a climax to which God's long-suffering providence has been leading up. In this climax God's will for men has broken forth into explicit revelation addressed to all men, in the person of a man of His own sovereign choice. In him repentance for their conduct in 'the times of ignorance' is made possible to all; and accordingly in him a world-wide judgement in righteousness also becomes possible. And the pledge thereof is his resurrection, by which his designation to this dignity is proved to all.

32. Whilst to both Stoics and Epicureans the ideas of retribution beyond the grave and of bodily resurrection would be incredible, there seems little reason to attribute the mocking to them in particular. Rather a twofold attitude of the Athenian mind as such is here described. Some dismiss the speaker's 'foreign notions' as absurd, feeling that the man was a mere enthusiast; while others, struck by his sober and convinced manner, are not disinclined to hear him 'yet again' (this turn of phrase does not suggest a merely evasive remark or polite irony). But at any rate no more came of his address then and there. Did Paul learn a lesson in the method of addressing the Greek mind, with its easy-going intellectualism, too often divorced from the things of conscience—a lesson the fruits of which appear in his words touching the determination with which he began his preaching in Corinth (1 Cor. ii. 1 ff.)? Did he feel that even legitimate

33 concerning this yet again. Thus Paul went out from
34 among them. But certain men clave unto him, and believed: among whom also was Dionysius the Areopagite, and a woman named Damaris, and others with them.
18 After these things he departed from Athens, and came
2 to Corinth. And he found a certain Jew named Aquila,

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adaptation to their own standpoint tended too much to keep Greeks from realizing that their attitude was artificial and too impersonal to be religious: that by the shock of contrast, the 'foolishness' of the direct assault on conscience, in the message of the cross, promised most for that true self-knowledge of moral awakening which was the condition of Christian faith?

33. went out from among them: *lit.* 'from the midst of them,' the circle of hearers gathered around the speaker, an assembly representative of Athens, whether it embraced the Council of Areopagus or not. It is to be observed that on the former view the incident gains in point relative to the scope of Acts as conceived in the Introduction: see also 34.

34. Dionysius the Areopagite. This indirect reference to Areopagus as a court favours its use in the like sense above.

Damaris = 'a heifer'; cf. Dorcas ('gazelle') in ix. 36. She was a foreigner of some sort (to judge from the social usages which hedged in Athenian women), possibly of the class of educated *Hetairai*. Who but Luke would have cared to note the adhesion of this woman, and even give her name?

and others with them. It is not true to say that Paul's work at Athens was fruitless. Yet he no doubt found the atmosphere uncongenial to the gospel, as too saturated with the rival forces of worldly 'wisdom' and cultured self-satisfaction. Nor does ecclesiastical history suggest that the church at Athens ever became as vigorous as one might have expected from the importance of the city.

xviii. 1–11. *Corinth.*

Corinth. Made a Roman colony by Cæsar and capital of the southern province of Greece, Achaia, and seat of its governor (proconsul). Situated on an isthmus on the direct sea route between Asia Minor and Italy, it was a great commercial centre, and therewith gay and cosmopolitan in its manners and ideals. Though not devoted to study and thought in the same sense as Athens, it was marked by the restless curiosity of the Greek mind, and loved to hear fine ideas expressed in fine phrases (cf. Paul's depreciation of this kind of 'wisdom' in 1 Corinthians,

a man of Pontus by race, lately come from Italy, with his wife Priscilla, because Claudius had commanded all the Jews to depart from Rome: and he came unto them; and because he was of the same trade, he abode with 3 them, and they wrought; for by their trade they were tentmakers. And he reasoned in the synagogue every 4 sabbath, and persuaded Jews and Greeks.

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e. g. i–iii). In Corinth, then, Paul was first confronted for a considerable time by the typical tendencies of Greek city life.

2. A certain Jew named Aquila. There must have been a large Jewish settlement in a commercial city like Corinth: and when a Jew of Eastern origin, like Aquila, found it necessary to leave Rome, for a time at least, in consequence of an anti-Jewish edict, it was natural for him to settle and ply his trade in Corinth. The edict in question was that described by Suetonius, when he says that Claudius 'expelled from Rome the Jews when in a constant state of tumult through the instigation of Chrestus.' Probably Chrestus was the form in which the title Christ was at this time known to the populace and the authorities in Rome. Hence we infer that the unrest in the Jewish quarter, or Ghetto, in Rome, represented the reaction against the introduction of the message 'Jesus is the Messiah' by obscure preachers, such as those dispersed from Jerusalem after Stephen's death. The date of this edict is uncertain but was probably A. D. 49–50. Like some other edicts, e. g. that against astrologers (Tac. *Ann.* xii. 52), it does not seem to have been strictly or permanently enforced.

Were Aquila and Priscilla already Christians? Luke's silence on the point, and his reference to community of craft as bringing them and Paul together, rather favours the negative answer. His silence as to their conversion at Corinth would be explicable, as having no bearing on Paul's work in Corinth as such. But, on the other hand, the fact that Paul settled with them so readily would at least suggest that they already believed in Jesus as Messiah. The reference to Aquila as 'a Jew' probably has relation simply to the expulsion of Jews as such from Rome, alluded to immediately.

3. tentmakers. It was a maxim of the rabbis that every father should teach his son a trade. Hence Paul, though trained for a rabbi, knew a handicraft, probably one much practised in his native Cilicia, whence a material of goat's hair used for tents was called *cilicium*. For Paul's industry in his craft, cf. xx. 34; 1 Thess. ii. 9; 2 Thess. iii. 8. Surely here is eye-witness, as also in the form 'Priscilla' where Paul uses 'Prisca' (Rom. xvi. 3; 1 Cor. xvi. 19).

4. persuaded: marg. 'sought to persuade': see verse 5 f.

5 But when Silas and Timothy came down from
Macedonia, Paul was constrained by the word, testifying
6 to the Jews that Jesus was the Christ. And when they
opposed themselves, and blasphemed, he shook out his
raiment, and said unto them, Your blood *be* upon your
own heads; I am clean: from henceforth I will go unto
7 the Gentiles. And he departed thence, and went into
the house of a certain man named Titus Justus, one

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5. was constrained by the word: or 'was absorbed in the word,' the verb expressing the firm grip which something has on a person: cf. Luke viii. 37, 'was in the grip of a strong fever,' also xii. 50; Wisd. of Sol. xvii. 19, of men 'occupied with' their daily toils. The tense is imperfect, implying either that (1) when his companions rejoined him, they found him already in the full current of his message (in contrast to more tentative beginnings on Sabbath days, while supporting himself by his trade and anxiously awaiting news from Macedonia)—he had 'warmed to his work': or that (2) their arrival infused fresh energy into Paul, and 'he became absorbed in the word.' In any case, we gather that at first Paul did not enter into the work of preaching with his wonted vigour, probably because his mind was pre-occupied with Macedonian matters and he was awaiting news that might at any moment call him away thither. But when Timothy came from Thessalonica (and Silas from Berœa), bringing good news (possibly also a letter) from his loved converts, who were 'standing in the Lord' (1 Thess. iii. 6-9), Paul was able to settle down with renewed energy to the work which had meantime laid its hold on him. Once more the 'innerness' of the narrative makes us feel Luke's presence (cf. verse 7).

6. Your blood be (*or* is) **upon your own heads; I am clean:** i. e. I am pure from blood-guiltiness, as defined in Ezek. xxxiii. 4 ff., where God's watchman is responsible for giving the people due warning.

from henceforth I will go unto the Gentiles: i. e. the local Gentiles, just as he had 'turned to' those in Pisidian Antioch under similar conditions (xiii. 46). His work among the Greeks so far had been among those attached to the synagogue, proselytes of one degree or another (probably including Stephanas and his house, 'the firstfruits of Achaia,' 1 Cor. xvi. 15—since Athens ranked apart as a 'free city'): cf. verse 7.

7. Titus Justus. This minute detail, like the note in verse 5, shews the intimacy of our author's knowledge of this visit to Corinth. The man's original name was Titius (as in the oldest

that worshipped God, whose house joined hard to the synagogue. And Crispus, the ruler of the synagogue, 8
believed in the Lord with all his house; and many of the Corinthians hearing believed, and were baptized.
And the Lord said unto Paul in the night by a vision, Be 9
not afraid, but speak, and hold not thy peace: for I am 10
with thee, and no man shall set on thee to harm thee:
for I have much people in this city. And he dwelt 11
there a year and six months, teaching the word of God among them.

But when Gallio was proconsul of Achaia, the Jews 12

MSS.), while Justus might be his surname (*cognomen*) assumed on becoming a proselyte (cf. i. 23; Col. iv. 11). Both names indicate a Roman rather than a Greek, one of the *coloni* planted in Corinth when it was made a colony. Now Titius is not a personal name, but that of a *gens* or clan (*nomen gentile*). If so, what more likely than that this Titius was one and the same with the wealthy Roman whose personal name (*praenomen*) was Gaius? Of each we gather that his house was the meeting-place of the Corinthian Church (see Rom. xvi. 23, and our next note). But if so, this is a fresh 'undesigned coincidence' between Acts and Paul's letters.

8. Here first we have mention of baptisms in connexion with the work at Corinth, i. e. after the believers were separated from the synagogue and formed into a distinct body or church. Cf. 1 Cor. i. 14, where we read of Crispus as baptized by Paul's own hands—probably as the leading Jewish convert—and of a Gaius, perhaps the leading Gentile in the early days, since we read in Rom. xvi. 23 of 'Gaius my host, and of the whole church' at Corinth.

11. a year and six months. To the early part of this stay belongs Paul's First letter to the Thessalonians, which was followed at no great interval by the Second. During this period Paul's personal expenses were partly met by help from Macedonia, (2 Cor. xi. 8, 9), apparently Philippi (Phil. iv. 15).

xviii. 12-17. *Paul before Gallio.*

Once more our author dwells upon the nostility of the Jews, who try to prove Christianity to involve disloyalty to the Roman Empire. The proconsul, however, seems to have seen through their motives, perceiving that their professed zeal for the law

with one accord rose up against Paul, and brought him
13 before the judgement-seat, saying, This man persuadeth
14 men to worship God contrary to the law. But when
Paul was about to open his mouth, Gallio said unto the
Jews, If indeed it were a matter of wrong or of wicked
villany, O ye Jews, reason would that I should bear with
15 you: but if they are questions about words and names
and your own law, look to it yourselves; I am not
16 minded to be a judge of these matters. And he drave
17 them from the judgement-seat. And they all laid hold
on Sosthenes, the ruler of the synagogue, and beat him
before the judgement-seat. And Gallio cared for none
of these things.
18 And Paul, having tarried after this yet many days,

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of the empire was a mere stalking-horse, their real interest being in the Jewish Law and in matters of that order. Hence he refused to take a side. In this Gallio shewed not indifference but discrimination.

12. Gallio was brother to Seneca, the philosopher and tutor of Nero. What we know of him is all in his favour.

14. a matter of wrong, &c.: i. e. 'a misdemeanour or a crime' (Ramsay).

17. The bystanders, Gentiles, ever ready to take advantage of the despised or hated Jew, took their cue from Gallio's resentment at their over-reaching attempt and wreaked a sort of wild justice upon their leader Sosthenes, with Gallio's connivance—he feeling that the Jew richly deserved the beating. Some, assuming that this Sosthenes was the same as Paul's friend named in the address of 1 Corinthians, suppose that he was a Christian (after the example of his late colleague Crispus), and that his assailants were the chagrined Jews. But in that case it would not have served Luke's purpose to record the passivity of Gallio.

xviii. 18–22. *The return journey to Antioch.*

At length the time came for Paul to return to his base in Antioch. But before so doing, he felt it well to renew his good relations with the Jerusalem Church as a whole, since they had probably been somewhat impaired by such reports touching his work in Greece as had reached Syria. He would leave no stone unturned to prevent the churches of the circumcision and the uncircumcision from falling asunder in feeling.

took his leave of the brethren, and sailed thence for Syria, and with him Priscilla and Aquila; having shorn his head in Cenchreæ: for he had a vow. And they 19
came to Ephesus, and he left them there: but he himself entered into the synagogue, and reasoned with the Jews. And when they asked him to abide a longer time, he 20
consented not; but taking his leave of them, and saying, 21
I will return again unto you, if God will, he set sail from

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18. having shorn his head . . . for he had a vow. There is no difficulty about Paul's observing a rite bound up with the traditions of Jewish piety: cf. xxi. 26. Thus even when pressed for time, he stayed at Philippi to keep passover (xx. 6: see also Rom. ix. 4). But the exact meaning of the rite in his case is obscure. Josephus (*Jewish War*, II. xv. 1) says that Jews were wont, when in sickness or other distress, to make a vow, to be redeemed at the end of a month of special consecration, marked by shaving of the head and abstinence from wine (after the analogy of the Nazirite vow, Num. vi). The narrative does not make clear what danger occasioned the vow; but it is natural to connect it with the time of Jewish hatred, when he was encouraged by the vision described in 9 f., and to which he might well make a special response by way of self-consecration, accompanied with a vow to be fulfilled in the temple when the work was done. Luke's reference to this vow (which would hardly have been named, had it been Aquila's—he and his wife being named parenthetically (cf. verse 19[a]), in view of what follows in 24 ff.) supports the view that Paul was bound for Jerusalem, not merely for Cæsarea, as some suppose from verse 22.

in Cenchreæ: the eastern port of Corinth, some nine miles distant: cf. Rom. xvi. 1. Paul polled or cut short his hair (not 'shaved' as in xxi. 24) there, because when embarking he felt now within thirty days of fulfilling his vow, one element in which was to offer to God (as part of one's very self) the hair grown during this consecrated interval: 'he was (already) under a vow' (soon to be redeemed).

19. This happened during enforced delay owing to shipping arrangements, for he was in haste to reach Jerusalem within thirty days (cf. verse 20). We must not assume that there were not as yet any Christians in Ephesus, but only that there was no organized body of them as distinct from the synagogue. In this sense the Ephesian Church also was founded by Paul.

21. [must by all means keep this feast that cometh in Jerusalem.] These words found in A. V. (with inferior MSS.)

22 Ephesus. And when he had landed at Cæsarea, he went
up and saluted the church, and went down to Antioch.
23 And having spent some time *there*, he departed, and
went through the region of Galatia and Phrygia in order,
stablishing all the disciples.
24 Now a certain Jew named Apollos, an Alexandrian by

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are due to unconsciousness that Paul's vow fixed a limit for his arrival in Jerusalem.

22. The wrong reading, just noticed, at any rate helps to confirm the view that it was to Jerusalem, and not Cæsarea, that Paul 'went up' on landing in Palestine (verse 22). This is demanded by the context; for we have no notice of relations between Paul and any church in those regions save that of Jerusalem, 'the church' *par excellence*, with which both before and afterwards he was so studious of good relations. He may have timed his arrival so as to coincide with some feast; but of this there is no evidence save the analogy of his next and last visit, which was at Pentecost, cf. xx. 16.

Paul's last missionary journey: A. D. 52-56 (Spring). xviii. 23—xxi. 16.

23. some time: probably not long, because he would be anxious to redeem his promise made at Ephesus as soon as possible.

through the region of Galatia and Phrygia in order. The reference to the strengthening of his disciples shews that South Galatia, the field of his First Journey, is still in view, exclusive of any extra region of Phrygia through which his Second Journey may have lain (see the slightly different phrase in xvi. 6). It was on this progress among 'the churches of Galatia' that Paul set on foot that collection for 'the poor saints' of the Jerusalem Church (1 Cor. xvi. 1) which occupied so much of his attention during this period of his life, and on which he relied for the removal of much of that prejudice against the Gentile Mission which he had doubtless experienced on his recent visit to the Mother Church.

xviii. 24-28. *Apollos, at Ephesus and in Achaia.* An episode full of interest from the new vistas which it opens up, but the exact meaning of which is in parts obscure. Possibly Luke gathered it only by hearsay after arriving again at Ephesus in Paul's company (xix. 1).

24. an Alexandrian by race, and in culture likewise. In Alexandria Jewish thought had been fused with the higher ideas of Greek philosophy, especially the Platonic, more completely

race, a learned man, came to Ephesus; and he was mighty in the scriptures. This man had been instructed 25
in the way of the Lord; and being fervent in spirit, he spake and taught carefully the things concerning Jesus, knowing only the baptism of John: and he began to 26
speak boldly in the synagogue. But when Priscilla and Aquila heard him, they took him unto them, and expounded unto him the way of God more carefully.

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than anywhere else. Hence Judaism was there conceived as the Divinely revealed or absolute religious philosophy or theology, even more than as the national system of piety resting on the Divinely revealed Law of Moses. All probability points to the reflex influence on Christianity of this Alexandrinism, of which the Jew Philo (who was only recently dead) was the typical exponent, as having been very considerable, far more so than we should gather from its traces in the N. T. itself (e. g. the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Gospel of John). But in any case Apollos is the first individual in whom we can trace the convergence of the two streams: cf. 1 Cor. i. 12, iii. 4–6, 22, iv. 6, xvi. 12; Titus iii. 13.

a learned man: marg. 'eloquent.' The Greek word *logos* denotes both thought and its utterance in word: hence it is hard to fix the meaning of the adjective formed from it (*logios*). But as 'mighty in the scriptures' follows, we may suppose that a natural rather than acquired quality is here described. Perhaps a 'man of culture' would give the sense fairly.

25. instructed in the way of the Lord: i. e. in Christianity of some type, cf. verse 26, 'God's way': ix. 2, 'the Way.' The word 'instructed' suggests careful oral instruction such as that alluded to as possessed by 'Theophilus' in Luke i. 4: cf. Gal. vi. 6. It is natural to infer, what is altogether likely, viz. that the gospel of Jesus had taken some root in Alexandria.

spake and taught carefully the things concerning Jesus: rather, 'accurately,' as in Luke i. 3. Probably he traced accurately (and with Alexandrine subtlety of allegorism) the chief correspondences between the facts of Jesus' life and Messianic prophecy as generally understood.

knowing only, &c.: i. e. being aware of (cf. x. 28, xv. 7, xix. 15, xxiv. 10) the existence of John's baptism alone and of its standpoint in relation to Messiah. This made the Messianic salvation a future matter rather than a present experience, particularly as regards the baptism of the Spirit, see xix. 2 ff.

26. Yet to the ear of associates of Paul, like Priscilla and Aquila (the order is that of spiritual power, cf. verse 18, Rom. xvi. 3;

27 And when he was minded to pass over into Achaia, the brethren encouraged him, and wrote to the disciples to receive him: and when he was come, he helped them
28 much which had believed through grace: for he powerfully confuted the Jews, *and that* publicly, shewing by the scriptures that Jesus was the Christ.

19 And it came to pass, that, while Apollos was at Corinth, Paul having passed through the upper country

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2 Tim. iv. 19), some things were lacking, probably touching the Cross and its connexion with 'the curse of the Law' and Justification (the Pauline doctrines of Grace). These, with their O. T. anticipations, they communicated to Apollos, so that hereafter he could set forth God's way yet 'more accurately.' It may seem strange to us that nothing is said (as in xix. 1–3) about the Holy Spirit as connected with Christian baptism, since Apollos 'knew only John's baptism.' But the fact seems that Apollos shewed no sign of spiritual deficiency in his own person, such as attracted Paul's attention in the disciples of xix. 2. He is described as 'fervent in spirit' (cf. Rom. xii. 11), as if he had received all unconsciously the Spirit in the adequate degree usually associated with Christian baptism. Hence nothing is said about the rite in his case, in contrast to that of the others.

27. helped them much which had believed through grace: better as marg. 'helped much through grace' (i. e. that at work in him) 'them who had believed'; for the conditions of the belief of Paul's converts in Achaia are here beside the point. How Apollos' special gift helped these believers may be seen from 1 Corinthians, where Paul speaks of his 'watering' what he himself had planted, while there are signs that some so preferred the suggestive, Alexandrine manner of Apollos, as to rank themselves as partisans of his teaching in contrast to Paul's: cf. 1 Cor. iii. 4 f., 21 f.

xix. 1–7. *Paul, and certain immature disciples at Ephesus.*

1. the upper country: i. e. the higher lying, inland regions, gradually descending to the sea-level. Ramsay sees in the phrase reference to the more direct and higher route to Ephesus, some way to the north of the Lycus Valley (by which the main road ran past Colossæ and Laodicea to Ephesus). This is probably true in fact, since Paul had not visited the Lycus Valley when he wrote Col. ii. 1; but the expression itself has the more general meaning.

came to Ephesus, and found certain disciples: and he 2
said unto them, Did ye receive the Holy Ghost when ye
believed? And they *said* unto him, Nay, we did not so
much as hear whether the Holy Ghost was *given*. And 3
he said, Into what then were ye baptized? And they
said, Into John's baptism. And Paul said, John baptized 4
with the baptism of repentance, saying unto the people,
that they should believe on him which should come after

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certain disciples: i. e. of Jesus as Messiah, according to the uniform use in Acts. However rudimentary their faith, in that they had not heard of Christian baptism as distinct from John's, and so not of the Pentecostal gift of the Holy Spirit in fulfilment of Messianic prophecy (Joel ii. 28 f.; Acts ii. 17 f.), we must yet suppose them to have been instructed in the words and deeds of Jesus, much as Apollos had been (xviii. 25). We have no right to connect them in any direct way with Apollos; and the sequel is different in their case. True, the cases are alike in this (the thing which chiefly made Luke choose them for record in his book of lessons from the past, cf. i. 4 f., xi. 16), that in each the inadequacy of the Forerunner's religious position is illustrated. But in each in different respects. To Apollos came fresh insight, to the others fresh vital power. The point, then, of this episode is the vital importance of the Holy Spirit in genuine Christianity, as the power enabling it (as distinct from all preparatory forms even of revealed religion) to spread and triumph.

2. Paul's question is prompted by his perception of a certain lifelessness in them as Christians. They lacked that peculiar enthusiasm which in the Apostolic Age was called 'Holy Spirit' and was traced directly to the Spirit of God. Hence the form of his question, which in the original contains no definite article before 'Holy Spirit.' Hence also their reply that they had not so much as heard 'whether there be such a thing as Holy Spirit' (available)—for such seems the sense of the original (cf. marg. 'whether there is a Holy Spirit'). That is, they were not ignorant that there was a Holy Spirit of God, as alluded to in the O. T. and in the Jewish Apocrypha: but they had not heard that any special grace from that source had been manifested, as the Messianic gift or seal to those who in Christian baptism consecrated themselves to the Name of Jesus the Christ (so *Codex Bezae* reads 'certain are receiving' in place of 'is'). It was a matter of religious experience, not theology, that was involved.

4. Here is the main point of the episode, the Divine superiority of faith in Jesus over all other religious faith, even that represented

him, that is, on Jesus. And when they heard this, they were baptized into the name of the Lord Jesus. And when Paul had laid his hands upon them, the Holy Ghost came on them; and they spake with tongues, and prophesied. And they were in all about twelve men.

And he entered into the synagogue, and spake boldly for the space of three months, reasoning and persuading *as to* the things concerning the kingdom of God. But when some were hardened and disobedient, speaking evil of the Way before the multitude, he departed from them, and separated the disciples, reasoning daily in the school of Tyrannus. And this continued for the space

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by the Baptist, his Forerunner, no less than by ordinary Judaism. This is evinced by the manifested power of God, Holy Spirit power, here associated with baptism 'into the name of the Lord Jesus.' If we knew more of the history of thought in various Christian circles in the sub-apostolic age, we might see to the full the pertinence of this narrative: cf. John i. 8, 15 for possible correctives of a tendency to make the Baptist a sort of rival to Him whom he heralded.

6. The Messianic gifts of 'tongues' and 'prophecy' betokened a present and not merely future salvation (the Spirit already animating Messiah's spiritual body, 1 Cor. xii. 13). The laying-on of Paul's hands (contrary to his usual custom, to judge from 1 Cor. i. 14, 17, where the argument would apply to this act as well as to baptism itself) was probably due to the representative nature of the occasion: cf. the case of the Samaritans in viii. 15–17, and notes.

xix. 8–20. *Paul's great work at Ephesus.*

8 f. The length of Paul's ministry in the synagogue, where he had already been well received (xviii. 19 f.), points to much open-mindedness among the Ephesian Jews. Yet a determined minority so bitterly opposed 'the Way' before 'the general body' (not 'the multitude,' cf. note on vi. 2) of their fellows, as to force Paul at last to withdraw with his full sympathizers, and conduct his teaching outside the synagogue.

9. the Way: apparently our author's own phrase (ix. 2, xix. 23, xxii. 4, xxiv. 14, 22; cf. xviii. 25 f.); and as it is one of the most primitive and Jewish type (see ix. 2), it favours the theory of Lucan authorship for the whole book.

the school of Tyrannus, i. e. a lecture-room such as *rhetors*

of two years; so that all they which dwelt in Asia heard

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or sophists (popularizers of philosophy) used for their orations or 'displays' (cf. Hatch, *Hibbert Lect.* iv). This particular 'school' bore the name of Tyrannus, perhaps from the *rhetor* who originally gave prestige to the spot. To the general public Paul's 'reasoning' on the claims of the gospel would now seem, more than ever, that of a specially piquant travelling sophist of religious sympathies (cf. xvii. 18–20).

[**from the fifth to the tenth hour.**] This gloss in *Codex Bezae*, &c., probably adds a true touch derived from local tradition (cf. xx. 15). Business hours in the Ionian cities ended at the fifth hour, i. e. two hours before noon (Ramsay). From this hour (his own tent-making done, xx. 34 f.) till 3 p. m., Paul may well have held forth to those who were now at leisure to hear.

10. two years, in addition to the three months' work in the synagogue: cf. Paul's inclusive reckoning of 'three years' in xx. 31. Our author here sums up a period of great activity and significance in the apostle's ministry. Ephesus was another of the great typical centres of the Roman Empire, of like rank with Athens and Corinth, yet more akin to Antioch in its blending of East and West. Here Greek and Roman elements moved in an atmosphere largely Oriental in thought and feeling. In this great thoroughfare and distributing-centre of the commerce, mental as well as material, between Asia Minor (and the further East) and the West, that subtle fusion of ideas originally distinct in origin known as Syncretism flourished exceedingly. With it went, as usual, superstition and quackery on the one hand, and restless scepticism on the other. But this meant, at least, that the more earnest minds were more open than elsewhere to new truth, especially truth with a definite basis and good credentials. Hence it was natural that the gospel, in hands at once so elastic and so firm as Paul's, should achieve great and widespread success. For what was moving men in Ephesus, soon reached the more stirring souls throughout the province of Asia. The flow in and out of the metropolis was constant, particularly of those drawn to its great temple and the religious festivals connected with it. We may safely imagine, then, that most, if not all, of the seven 'Churches of Asia' addressed in the Apocalypse, had their origin about this time, as well as the churches of Colossæ and Hierapolis, the neighbours of Laodicea in the Lycus Valley. For there are 'Churches of Asia' to salute that of Corinth in 1 Cor. xvi. 19. In this great extension of the gospel Paul probably worked largely indirectly, through men like Epaphras at Colossæ (Col. i. 7, iv. 12), or through tried companions like Timothy (cf. Col. i. 1). Yet he may have paid brief visits to many cities of Asia, to stablish or organize the nascent church in each.

11 the word of the Lord, both Jews and Greeks. And God
12 wrought special miracles by the hands of Paul: insomuch
that unto the sick were carried away from his body
handkerchiefs or aprons, and the diseases departed from
13 them, and the evil spirits went out. But certain also of
the strolling Jews, exorcists, took upon them to name

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11. special miracles: *lit.* 'powers of no ordinary sort,' as if God were supporting His servant's message amid the Babel voices of Ephesus—with its philosophies, theosophies, and false marvels—by manifestations of power, such as could arrest even those immersed in superstitious practices (cf. verse 18f.). The whole subject bristles with difficulties, since we do not even know how far Paul countenanced the particular cases here mentioned (with what degree of sanction from our author?) in illustration of the lengths to which the wonders associated with his person actually went. That Paul was conscious of being on occasion the medium of superhuman energies we know from his own unimpeachable witness (Rom. xv. 18; 2 Cor. xii. 12): and it is certain that what are mentioned after 'inasmuch that' are not meant to exhaust the 'powers' wrought through him in Ephesus. They represent rather the phenomena which hung, so to speak, on the fringe of Paul's ministry, its secondary products after popular enthusiasm had reached its height through other and more spiritual forms of contact between human need and the Divine power brought nigh in Christ's apostles (cf. verses 12, 15). Paul himself would surely have discouraged such unethical and magical methods, so alien to 'faith' as he understood its saving virtue. But, without his knowledge, the zeal of fresh converts and others conveyed to the sick in body and mind objects which, having been in contact with his person, had relative to the crude but intense faith and expectancy of the recipients a healing value. Such cures, Luke, on the standards of his age, had no reason to regard as less supernatural or Divine in origin than those in which higher faith was present, both in the patient and in Paul himself. What exactly Paul thought in the matter we do not know.

aprons: such as artisans wore at work (= *semicinctium*, Martial, xiv. 153), possibly those actually worn by Paul.

13. strolling Jews, exorcists. We have ample evidence from Josephus, *Ant.* viii. 2. 5, and other sources, that professional exorcism was practised among the Jews, influenced largely by Babylonian magic. Ephesus was specially famed for magical formulæ called 'Ephesian letters.' The essence of such exorcism was the power supposed to be wielded by the recitation of certain

over them which had the evil spirits the name of the Lord Jesus, saying, I adjure you by Jesus whom Paul preacheth. And there were seven sons of one Sceva, 14
a Jew, a chief priest, which did this. And the evil spirit 15
answered and said unto them, Jesus I know, and Paul I know; but who are ye? And the man in whom the 16
evil spirit was leaped on them, and mastered both of them, and prevailed against them, so that they fled out of that house naked and wounded. And this became 17
known to all, both Jews and Greeks, that dwelt at Ephesus; and fear fell upon them all, and the name of the Lord Jesus was magnified. Many also of them that 18
had believed came, confessing, and declaring their deeds. And not a few of them that practised curious arts 19
brought their books together, and burned them in the sight of all: and they counted the price of them, and found it fifty thousand pieces of silver. So mightily grew 20
the word of the Lord and prevailed.

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potent names; and observing the wonders wrought by Paul in Christ's name, these Jews thought to obtain like power by borrowing his 'formula,' as it were.

14. Sceva, . . . a chief priest: here 'chief priest' must be used in the large and loose sense which includes all members of the high-priestly clan (cf. iv. 6, and 1 marg.).

16. mastered both of them. Apparently only two of the 'seven' were actually involved in this particular attempt at exorcism.

18 f. This notorious case roused the dormant conscience of certain of Paul's converts who had been and still were involved in the practice of magic. Nay, quite a number of those not already converts abandoned their magical arts ('curious' = 'out of the way,' 'uncanny') and made a public bonfire of their books of formulæ: cf. the 'Burning of the Vanities' at Florence under Savonarola's preaching.

18. their deeds: or 'practices.' The word *praxis* has in magic (as proved by papyri) the technical sense of a *spell*, which may here be the meaning (Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, 323 n.).

19. fifty thousand pieces of silver: about £1800.

21 Now after these things were ended, Paul purposed in
the spirit, when he had passed through Macedonia and
Achaia, to go to Jerusalem, saying, After I have been
22 there, I must also see Rome. And having sent into
Macedonia two of them that ministered unto him,
Timothy and Erastus, he himself stayed in Asia for
a while.

23 And about that time there arose no small stir concern-

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xix. 21, 22. *Paul's far-reaching plans.*

The first of these was the organizing and conveying to Jerusalem of a contribution from his Gentile churches towards the relief of the poor in the mother church. This, he hoped, would so prove the loyalty to the latter of those at whom many of its members were apt to look askance, that the way would be paved for his undertaking with an easy mind the second of his great projects. This was no less than a visit to the further West, to Rome in particular, but also, as we learn from Rom. xv. 24, to far distant Spain. It was an heroic enterprise, which had been slowly forming in his mind for some years (Rom. xv. 23), fostered, we may suppose, by the concrete information which reached him thence, particularly through Prisca and Aquila. The first step was to see to the carrying out of the Collection, particularly in Macedonia and Achaia, where he had not had opportunity to explain his scheme personally. Accordingly he now, towards the end of his time in Ephesus, sent forward into Macedonia Timothy and Erastus, the treasurer of the city of Corinth, on Collection business, intending himself to follow before long. From his letters to the Corinthians we gather that he had cares of another kind connected with the internal state of the Corinthian church, which also turned his steps in that direction.

21. purposed in the spirit: i. e. by inspiration; for whether the Divine reference be immediate or only implied, it is certainly there: see xx. 22 f., and cf. 1 Cor. xii. 3.

xix. 23-41. *Paul's last days in Ephesus: the riot.*

We are able from Paul's letters to Corinth, the one written from Ephesus itself, the other soon after leaving it, to supply a good deal of background to the narrative in Acts, particularly for the latter part of his stay. In general we learn that it was a time of continuous trial and anxiety. This appears from Paul's words of retrospect, addressed to the Ephesian elders in Acts xx. 19. His stay among them had been a humiliating experience of tears and trials, traceable to Jewish plottings, their aim being to

ing the Way. For a certain man named Demetrius, a 24
silversmith, which made silver shrines of Diana, brought
no little business unto the craftsmen; whom he gathered 25
together, with the workmen of like occupation, and said,
Sirs, ye know that by this business we have our wealth.
And ye see and hear, that not alone at Ephesus, but 26
almost throughout all Asia, this Paul hath persuaded
and turned away much people, saying that they be no
gods, which are made with hands: and not only is there 27
danger that this our trade come into disrepute; but also
that the temple of the great goddess Diana be made
of no account, and that she should even be deposed
from her magnificence, whom all Asia and the world

terrorize him into silence or even withdrawal (verses 20 f.). This outline may largely be filled in from 1 Cor. iv. 9-13, xv. 30 ff., xvi. 9. 'Every hour,' he cries, 'we are in jeopardy: daily I experience death': and he goes on to say that he has 'fought the wild beasts in Ephesus'—in some metaphorical sense, indeed, but in one sufficiently terrible (xv. 30-32). The episode which follows illustrates a danger from another quarter than Jewish hostility, viz. that of vested trade interests.

23. about that time. A vague description which from xx. 1 we can narrow down to Paul's closing days at Ephesus. Of these same days 1 Cor. xvi. 9 gives us another glimpse: 'A great door and effectual is opened unto me, and there are many adversaries.'

24. silver shrines of Diana. The goddess thus described by the Latin equivalent for the Greek 'Artemis' was really an Oriental Nature-deity, the Great Mother, worshipped under various titles throughout a large part of Asia Minor, particularly where the native population was most unchanged. The shrines in question, generally of silver, were a speciality of the Ephesian trade which ministered to the devotion of those visiting her temple —itself one of the wonders of the world. In these toy shrines, which were either dedicated in the temple or placed in the home of the votary, the many-breasted goddess (symbolizing the fecundity of Nature) was represented as sitting in state under a sort of stone canopy.

26, 27. This summary of the speech by the leading man in the trades dependent on the cult of this goddess, is not only highly realistic, but illustrates the degree of Paul's success, which was seriously affecting the demand for the instruments of worship

28 worshippeth. And when they heard this, they were filled
with wrath, and cried out, saying, Great *is* Diana of the
29 Ephesians. And the city was filled with the confusion:
and they rushed with one accord into the theatre, having
seized Gaius and Aristarchus, men of Macedonia, Paul's
30 companions in travel. And when Paul was minded to
enter in unto the people, the disciples suffered him not.
31 And certain also of the chief officers of Asia, being his

(cf. Pliny's description of a similar situation created by Christianity in Bithynia in the opening years of the second century).

29. the theatre: the great amphitheatre at Ephesus, the outlines of which have been recovered by excavation in modern times, was the common place for public meetings and demonstrations.

31. the chief officers of Asia: *lit.* 'Asiarchs.' The duties of these provincial officials, representing various cities of 'Asia,' were to provide and preside over the public games and festivals which had largely a religious significance, as well as to look after the worship of imperial Rome and of its semi-divine head, the emperor. As an Asiarch retained his title even after his term of office, those here in question may have been all citizens of Ephesus. Otherwise their presence in Ephesus would imply that a sacred festival had brought them together, a circumstance which would make the stroke of Demetrius specially timely. Their friendliness to Paul rather favours the former view, and is to be explained as due to simple respect for one whom they regarded as a high-toned specimen of the class of sophists or philosophic lecturers, not a few of whom held enlightened views about idolatry. As such remained unmolested, so would Paul, had he got no further than academic 'displays' in a superior style, dealing with 'the Divine' in contrast to popular religion. But his offence lay in his practical success in influencing conduct. This thoughtful men like our Asiarchs respected on its side of moral reformation, while they saw through the zeal of the mob to its source in sordid trade interests. Accordingly they wished Paul well, and warned him not to throw away his life by facing the enraged populace in the theatre. It was of great interest to our author to record an incident which so illustrated the principle that in the early days the authorities under Rome were on the side of the gospel, while it was only the mob that was against it, and this only at times when the Jews or some interested persons managed to stir its fickle passions against what it did not itself understand.

33 f. Apparently the Jews feared, in the confusion and un-

friends, sent unto him, and besought him not to adventure himself into the theatre. Some therefore cried one 32
thing, and some another: for the assembly was in confusion; and the more part knew not wherefore they were
come together. And they brought Alexander out of the 33
multitude, the Jews putting him forward. And Alexander
beckoned with the hand, and would have made a defence
unto the people. But when they perceived that he was 34
a Jew, all with one voice about the space of two hours
cried out, Great *is* Diana of the Ephesians. And when 35
the townclerk had quieted the multitude, he saith, Ye
men of Ephesus, what man is there who knoweth not
how that the city of the Ephesians is temple-keeper of

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certainty—as each asked his neighbour the cause of the excitement, and the words 'Paul, a Jew,' passed from lip to lip in connexion with harm done to their great goddess—lest the whole business should turn into an anti-Jewish riot. So some of them coached ('instructed,' marg.) one of their number, Alexander, possibly as a fellow craftsman of Demetrius and his friends (cf. 'Alexander the coppersmith,' 2 Tim. iv. 14), to become their spokesman and clear them of suspicion: and the Jews as a body tried to get him a hearing, but in vain. Noticing that he was a Jew, the excited people drowned his voice in a continuous cry in honour of their goddess.

35. the townclerk: a leading official of the municipal council, and so in close touch with the proconsul, who generally resided at Ephesus. He thus represented the official view of the situation, viz. that a riot, especially one so groundless as this would seem to impartial rulers (verse 40), would seriously compromise the city and perhaps lead to restriction of its privileges. His speech is a most skilful one, mingling soothing words with appeals to the probable consequences of rash action, and throwing out the common-sense reminder that the case between the craftsmen and the Christians was one which the ordinary courts could settle. If further issues lay behind, they could be dealt with in 'the regular assembly' of the citizens. There was no case made out for an emergency meeting. The speech was a virtual *apologia* for the Christians against mob law. And our author gives it at such length—with much of its original local colour of phrase and sentiment—as of force for the time when he wrote.

temple-keeper: *lit.* 'temple-sweeper,' i. e. temple-guardian,

the great Diana, and of the *image* which fell down from
36 Jupiter? Seeing then that these things cannot be gain-
37 said, ye ought to be quiet, and to do nothing rash. For
ye have brought *hither* these men, which are neither
38 robbers of temples nor blasphemers of our goddess. If
therefore Demetrius, and the craftsmen that are with
him, have a matter against any man, the courts are open,
and there are proconsuls: let them accuse one another.
39 But if ye seek anything about other matters, it shall be
40 settled in the regular assembly. For indeed we are in
danger to be accused concerning this day's riot, there
being no cause *for it*: and as touching it we shall not be
41 able to give account of this concourse. And when he
had thus spoken, he dismissed the assembly.

20 And after the uproar was ceased, Paul having sent for

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a title which Ephesus could boast then or a little later in relation also to the cult of the emperor. The term, tantamount to 'devotee,' was applied to other cities in connexion with their patron deities.

the image which fell down from Jupiter: better 'from heaven,' marg. This immemorial image served as a model for the images of the goddess in the little 'shrines,' &c.

37. Neither in deed nor word were the accused guilty of 'sacrilege,' in the technical sense then punishable by heavy penalties.

38. there are proconsuls: a general mode of statement = 'there are such things as proconsuls' (coming, in succession, to the province); just as above he says 'assizes are held.'

39. about other matters: i. e. issues of another order (from the practical kind raised by the craftsmen), matters of principle not covered by existing law. Our best MS. has 'further issues,' which makes the sense plainer.

40. concerning this day's riot: better marg. 'of riot concerning this day.' The speaker would not tax them with the very charge which he wished them to avoid incurring.

41. dismissed the assembly: regularizing it, as it were, by an act of formal dissolution.

xx. 1, 2. *Paul's last visit to Greece.*

The date was about Pentecost, A. D. 55 (56): cf. 1 Cor. xvi. 8. From

the disciples and exhorted them, took leave of them, and
departed for to go into Macedonia. And when he had 2
gone through those parts, and had given them much
exhortation, he came into Greece. And when he had 3
spent three months *there*, and a plot was laid against him

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2 Corinthians we learn that Paul was in no hurry to reach Macedonia, as he wished to give the erring church time to come to its full senses before his visit. Hence he planned to do evangelistic work in Troas, pending the return of Titus, the bearer of a letter from him to Corinth touching the effect of which he stood in some doubt. But though the work opened up most invitingly at Troas, his anxiety so grew on him that he could not rest in Troas, but must go forward to meet Titus at some earlier point on his way from Corinth through Macedonia. This he succeeded in doing, to his immense relief (2 Cor. ii. 12–14). Where they met is doubtful, but probably at Thessalonica, since, prior to their meeting, Paul says he was 'afflicted on every side; without, fightings; within, fears' (2 Cor. vii. 5: cf. viii. 1 f., ix. 2—as if he had got past Philippi)—a state of things most likely in a city where he had before met with such bitter Jewish hostility.

1. the uproar. Echoes of the serious danger involved may perhaps be heard in 2 Cor. i. 8 ff.

sent for: since he was practically in hiding.

2. much exhortation. The fitness of this description, probably by one who himself heard Paul's earnest words, can be realized when one reads 2 Cor. xi. 28, 'care for all the churches,' and remembers when and where the epistle was penned.

xx. 3–6. *Corinth once more: the start for Jerusalem.*

Something of the three months at Corinth can be gleaned from the close of his letter to the Romans, written at this time. Besides its salutations, giving us little personal glimpses, it shews us the great visions of future work in Rome and the West which were then filling his soul; and we may safely infer from these and from the general calm and hopefulness of his tone that his visit had been fully successful. No doubt much of his thought was devoted to the final stages of his great collection for the Jerusalem church. It seems strange, indeed, that Acts here makes no mention of this collection; but this is probably due to our author's familiarity with it, which makes him assume its progress in referring to the representatives of the chief churches involved, as now preparing to accompany Paul to Jerusalem. Elsewhere, though quite incidentally, he does refer to the collection in Paul's speech before Felix (xxiv. 17).

by the Jews, as he was about to set sail for Syria, he
4 determined to return through Macedonia. And there
accompanied him as far as Asia Sopater of Berœa, *the*
son of Pyrrhus; and of the Thessalonians, Aristarchus
and Secundus; and Gaius of Derbe, and Timothy; and
5 of Asia, Tychicus and Trophimus. But these had gone
6 before, and were waiting for us at Troas. And we

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3. as he was about to set sail for Syria. The Jews planned to do away with him on the eve of his sailing. To put them off the scent more thoroughly, Paul changed his route, starting for Asia secretly by way of Macedonia, probably before the date when he was to have sailed (see next note).

4. there accompanied him as far as Asia. The latter words should perhaps be omitted (as in marg.), being due to failure to see that our author's eyes, like Paul's, are now directed to Jerusalem, in connexion with the collection. The tense of the verb 'accompanied' is imperfect, 'were accompanying,' in the sense of 'were members of his party,' collected at Corinth. But, as the next verse informs us, they actually started from Corinth by sea (perhaps in the ship which was to have carried the whole party), with a view to awaiting the other section of the party, including Paul, at Troas. This would tend to put the Jews of the true scent up to the very last, when Paul would be already well on his way by the longer land route.

Sopater . . . son of Pyrrhus: perhaps so called in distinction from Sosipater of Rom. xvi. 21 (also at Corinth about that time) who was a Jew: cf. note on xvii. 12.

Aristarchus: apparently a very attached helper of Paul (cf. xix. 29, xxvii. 2; Philem. 24), by birth a Jew, Col. iv. 10.

Gaius of Derbe, and Timothy: the almoners of the South Galatian churches: cf. Rom. xvi. 21 for Timothy's presence at Corinth.

Tychicus: probably an active helper during his recent stay in Ephesus: cf. Eph. vi. 21; Col. iv. 7, also Titus iii. 12; 2 Tim. iv. 12.

Trophimus: an Ephesian helper, xxi. 29; 2 Tim. iv. 20.

5. these had gone before: rather, 'came' (marg., with best MSS., so verse 13), i. e. 'these on their arrival at Troas (by the short sea route), awaited us there.' The whole party was to have started from Corinth by sea for Jerusalem. But Paul seems to have slipped quietly out of Corinth, accompanied only by Luke, in order to escape the Jews. Luke's presence in Corinth at this time explains the full and careful list of Paul's comrades.

were waiting for us. In any case these words exclude the theory that Timothy was author of the supposed 'we' document.

sailed away from Philippi after the days of unleavened bread, and came unto them to Troas in five days; where we tarried seven days.

And upon the first day of the week, when we were 7
gathered together to break bread, Paul discoursed with them, intending to depart on the morrow; and prolonged his speech until midnight. And there were many lights 8
in the upper chamber, where we were gathered together. And there sat in the window a certain young man named 9
Eutychus, borne down with deep sleep; and as Paul discoursed yet longer, being borne down by his sleep he fell down from the third story, and was taken up dead.

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6. A verse valuable for Pauline chronology, fixing the season of this journey, and tending to fix the year as about 56–57, on the assumption that Paul left Philippi on the morrow of the feast, and that reckoning back from the Sunday at Troas (verse 7) we can fix the dates of passover week.

Paul's last journey to Jerusalem described in detail:
Spring, A. D. 56 (57). xx. 7—xxi. 16.

xx. 7-12. *Troas: the case of Eutychus.*

7. to break bread: i. e. to eat the Lord's Supper, which was then essentially a social meal as to form, including a stage known as *agapé*, or love-feast, and a stage marked by special commemorative words and prayers of thanksgiving known as the thanksgiving or Eucharist: cf. ii. 42, 46; 1 Cor. xi. 20 ff., x. 16-21. Probably this festival was now held weekly as a rule, on the 'first day of the week,' the Lord's day (Rev. i. 10; *Didaché* xiv. 1, 'And on the Lord's Day of the Lord assemble together and break bread and give thanks')— as was the case in Bithynia half a century later, on the witness of Pliny.

8. many lights: a cause of the heat which led Eutychus to sit on the window-sill.

9. Eutychus = 'fortunate': perhaps the name struck our author as significant.

was taken up dead. Our eye-witness had no doubt that he was actually dead, since he inserts no qualifying phrase as in the case of Paul's being stoned at Lystra (xiv. 19; cf. Mark ix. 26): and he was in all probability himself a physician. This must be remembered in reading Paul's reassuring words quoted in the next verse, 'his life (rather, *soul*) is in him.' That is, our witness regards the young man's immediate recovery as supernatural.

10 And Paul went down, and fell on him, and embracing
11 him said, Make ye no ado; for his life is in him. And
when he was gone up, and had broken the bread, and
eaten, and had talked with them a long while, even till
12 break of day, so he departed. And they brought the lad
alive, and were not a little comforted.

13 But we, going before to the ship, set sail for Assos,
there intending to take in Paul: for so had he appointed,
14 intending himself to go by land. And when he met us
15 at Assos, we took him in, and came to Mitylene. And
sailing from thence, we came the following day over
against Chios; and the next day we touched at Samos

That the brethren were able to bring 'the lad alive' was due t
Paul's action, whatever the degree to which the soul or vita
principle was still present in his body. Some allowance should
perhaps, be made for a psychology which spoke of the 'soul' a
leaving the body at or soon after death (cf. Matt. x. 28). Her
the actual separation is conceived not yet to have occurred, thoug
the relation between the two which constituted a man 'living
had been destroyed (cf. Luke viii. 52 f.).

10. fell on him, and embracing him: like Elisha in 2 King
iv. 33–35.

11. eaten: apparently as of a meal: cf. x. 10; also *Did.* x.
'But after being filled, give thanks (make eucharist) thus.'

12. they brought: seemingly to join in the meeting.

xx. 13–16. *From Troas to Miletus.*

13. Assos: lying south from Troas, opposite the isle of Lesbo

to go by land: marg. 'on foot.' Why? most likely for great
quiet, in which to face afresh the probable issues of his journe
which were coming home to him with full force: cf. the ca
resignation of his speech at Miletus (verse 22 ff.), which prov
also that he had already been receiving warnings in several citi
as to his danger.

14. The tense implies that they sighted him ere Assos w
actually reached, and the same evening they reached Mityle
the capital of Lesbos. The ship seems to have started each d
at sunrise and anchored at sunset, to suit the ways of the wind.

15. Chios: another of the considerable islands off this coa

we touched at Samos; and [having tarried at Trogyllium] t
day after we came to Miletus. The words in brackets are

and the day after we came to Miletus. For Paul had 16
determined to sail past Ephesus, that he might not have
to spend time in Asia; for he was hastening, if it were
possible for him, to be at Jerusalem the day of Pente-
cost.

And from Miletus he sent to Ephesus, and called to 17
him the elders of the church. And when they were 18
come to him, he said unto them,

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part of the original text, but may preserve a true local tradition (cf. xix. 9), viz. that having 'struck across to Samos' they anchored just off Trogyllium, a promontory some miles south-west of Ephesus. But for verse 17 we might have suspected that it was hence that Paul sent message to the Ephesian elders to meet him at Miletus.

16. Paul had determined: i. e. when embarking at Troas.

xx. 17-38. *The farewell to the elders of Ephesus.*

This speech gives us the spirit of the situation as regards (1) Paul's past ministry, as exemplified at Ephesus (18-21 and 26 f.); (2) his attitude to his own future, immediate (22-24), and also ultimate as touching his hearers (25); (3) conditions at Ephesus in the near future (28-30); (4) the self-sacrificing spirit of his pastoral example (31-35). It reads, and Luke means it to read, as an unconscious manifesto of the essence of the life and ministry of the most influential exponent of Christianity (i. e. of Christianity in the Roman Empire)—charged, as such, with lessons and morals for later days. It is Paul's own summing up and looking forward, so far as possible even to an inspired apostle. Accordingly every sentence is meant to tell, since our author is only giving the substance of the address (no doubt, largely in Paul's words) and therefore only what seemed to him specially worth recording when he wrote.

17. the elders of the church: cf. xi. 30, xiv. 23, xv. 4, and notes. Deissmann (*Bible Studies*, p. 156) observes that there is 'no reason for deeming this technical term a peculiarity of the Jewish idiom' (e. g. the LXX). It existed apart and before in Egypt; and 'the inscriptions of Asia Minor prove beyond doubt that *presbuteroi* was the technical term, in the most diverse localities, for the members of a corporation' ('council of the elders,' or *gerousia*), whether in sacred matters, as some suppose, or otherwise (p. 234 f.). These remarks apply to xiv. 23, as well as the present passage. When it is added (p. 234 f.) that 'they had a president (*archon*, *prostates*, *proegoumenos*), a secretary,

Ye yourselves know, from the first day that I set foot
in Asia, after what manner I was with you all the time,
19 serving the Lord with all lowliness of mind, and with
tears, and with trials which befell me by the plots of the
20 Jews: how that I shrank not from declaring unto you
anything that was profitable, and teaching you publicly,
21 and from house to house, testifying both to Jews and to
Greeks repentance toward God, and faith toward our
22 Lord Jesus Christ. And now, behold, I go bound in
the spirit unto Jerusalem, not knowing the things that
23 shall befall me there: save that the Holy Ghost testifieth

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a special treasury,' &c., we can see how such a body of colleagues might come to develop the more advanced organization which meets us outside the N. T.: see further on verse 28.

19. serving: i. e. as a bondservant, an idea of utter devotion to Christ, the heavenly Master, peculiar to Paul's writings (Rom. xii. 11, xiv. 18, xvi. 18; Eph. vi. 6 f.; Col. iii. 24). Similarly **with all lowliness of mind** is very Pauline: see Eph. iv. 2; cf. Phil. ii. 3; Col. iii. 12 (elsewhere only 1 Pet. v. 5). It is the more notable because the classical use of the adjective 'lowly' is altogether depreciatory (cf. Col. ii. 18, 23) = 'poor-spirited,' 'grovelling.' It has a good sense in the LXX, but received a more definite place in the Christian ideal, in which 'humility'—primarily as in God's sight—is compatible with the highest manhood. The great factor in this transfiguration was Christ's example: cf. Phil. ii. 3 ff.

20. The temptation to shirk flying in the face of Jewish jealousy and plots by preaching salvation in a crucified Messiah, and that among the Gentiles as well as Jews, was evidently very great: cf. xix. 9, and note on xix. 23–41. See also verse 27.

21. faith toward our Lord Jesus. This phrase (best without the addition of 'Christ'; see verse 24, and cf. xvi. 31, xxi. 13) and 'the gospel of the grace of God' (verse 24, cf. verse 32) well preserve Paul's average emphasis in simple religious address (e. g. the Thessalonian epistles), in contrast to profound discussions on doctrine. Cf. xiii. 38 f.

22. bound in the spirit: or 'bound (constrained) by the Spirit.' In any case the phrase, both in itself and in view of verse 23, points more clearly than xix. 21, 'purposed in the spirit,' to the Divine origin of the feeling which 'shut him up' to visit Jerusalem: cf. xxi. 4, 10 f. 'The Spirit behind the history' is nowhere made more impressive than in this part of Acts.

unto me in every city, saying that bonds and afflictions abide me. But I hold not my life of any account, as 24
dear unto myself, so that I may accomplish my course,
and the ministry which I received from the Lord Jesus,
to testify the gospel of the grace of God. And now, be- 25
hold, I know that ye all, among whom I went about
preaching the kingdom, shall see my face no more.

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24. so that I may accomplish: marg. 'in comparison of accomplishing.'

the ministry . . . received from the Lord Jesus. Exactly Paul's tone—still ringing in Luke's ears—perhaps down to the phrase 'the Lord Jesus,' especially in such a context: cf. verse 35, xxi. 13, and 1 Cor. ix. 1, xi. 23, xii. 3.

25. Does this imply that Paul never revisited 'Asia,' and so was never released from the imprisonment in Rome which was the sequel of his visit to Jerusalem? Those who take the Epistles to Timothy to involve such a later visit (and consider them to be genuine) are forced to answer 'No.' But, waiving the question whether these epistles cannot refer to periods in Paul's life prior to the end of the imprisonment referred to (and we believe that they can), to one duly considering our author's own words of similar tenor in verse 38, this conclusion may well seem incorrect. For, as already pointed out, our author was in no way obliged in a mere summary of Paul's address to cite a forecast which subsequent events falsified, much less to return to the point when describing in his own words the actual parting of Paul and his hearers. If, on the other hand, Paul was martyred at the close of the period recorded in Acts, Luke takes the best means of divesting the fact (assumed to be already known to his readers) of the appearance of defeat, when he takes pains to shew the spirit of undaunted trust in the Divine leading in which Paul faces a future containing at least bonds and possibly death (verse 23, xxi. 11).

preaching the kingdom: i. e. the Messianic kingdom; cf. Matt. xxiv. 14, 'this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached.' This antique and Jewish description of the gospel (cf. i. 6) was probably caught by a Gentile like our author from the lips of Paul himself: hence its presence here in all its pregnant allusiveness. Elsewhere Luke, when he uses it (as he uses the primitive title 'Lord Jesus,' also learned originally in Paul's circle) in his own person and more instinctively—though with perfect fitness to the context—employs the fuller form, 'the kingdom of God' (i. 3, viii. 12, xiv. 22, xix. 8, xxviii. 23, 31).

26 Wherefore I testify unto you this day, that I am pure
27 from the blood of all men. For I shrank not from
28 declaring unto you the whole counsel of God. Take heed unto yourselves, and to all the flock, in the which the Holy Ghost hath made you bishops, to feed the church
29 of God, which he purchased with his own blood. I know

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26. pure from the blood of all men: cf. xviii. 6. The special form of infidelity to trust which Paul had in mind here, was withholding from men the less palatable, but wholesome, parts of God's will (verse 27). Let them cultivate the like fidelity (verse 28).

28. The elders were the under-shepherds of Christ's flock in Ephesus, responsible in virtue of the gift by which the Holy Spirit had 'set them (cf. 1 Cor. xii. 4 ff., 28 f.) as overseers, to shepherd God's church': see 1 Pet. v. 1–4 (cf. ii. 25), a very parallel passage even in phraseology.

made you bishops: marg. 'overseers'; better, 'set you as overseers.' The term *episkopoi* is here used adjectivally to describe the functions of the elders in their relation as 'guardians' or shepherds of their brethren, considered as less experienced Christians. The idea of the verb defines their duty, viz. 'to tend as a shepherd,' not merely 'feed': cf. *Longi Pastoralia*, i. 12, 'they tended (*epeskopounto*) the flock'; and for 'overseer'='shepherd,' see 1 Pet. ii. 25. Elders were chosen for their maturity and practical wisdom, their possession of the gifts of guidance (*lit.* 'steering') and practical helpfulness, named in 1 Cor. xii. 28 ('helps, governments,' marg. 'wise counsels'): cf. Rom. xii. 7, 8. But at first they had no technical title save that of 'elders.' We see the process by which special functions gained for men corresponding titles—used at first descriptively, e. g. Phil. i. 1, where 'the saints' at Philippi are saluted 'together with (their) overseers and ministers (deacons).' The transition from the informal and descriptive use of 'overseer' to the official one would be the easier, as the term was already used in a technical sense outside the Christian communities, e. g. of certain communal officials (suggestively enough, next to 'guardians of strangers,' *epimeletai ton xenon*), also of religious officials of some sort—in both cases at Rhodes (Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, p. 230 f.).

the church of God, which he purchased with his own blood. This seems to involve the idea of the blood of God; to avoid which many MSS. substitute 'the Lord' (i. e. Christ) for 'God.' But we must look for the solution of the difficulty rather to the closing words: *lit.* 'acquired through the blood that was

that after my departing grievous wolves shall enter in
among you, not sparing the flock; and from among your 30
own selves shall men arise, speaking perverse things, to
draw away the disciples after them. Wherefore watch 31
ye, remembering that by the space of three years I ceased
not to admonish every one night and day with tears.
And now I commend you to God, and to the word of 32
his grace, which is able to build *you* up, and to give *you*

His own,' as being that of His Messiah (iv. 26) or Son. For the thought, see Rom. v. 8, 'God commendeth his own love, in that . . . Christ died for us'; viii. 32, 'He that spared not His own Son.' It was a thought which Paul had emphasized among them, to judge from Eph. i. 14, 'unto the redemption of the acquisition' (a like word to 'purchased' or 'acquired' here).

29. wolves: carrying on the idea of 'the flock'; cf. Matt. vii. 15. He sees them on the horizon, as it were, not yet among the Ephesian converts; and means Judaizers such as had for a time ravaged his flock at Corinth, or earlier in Galatia. Reference to such pseudo-apostles (for so they seem to have styled themselves at Corinth, 2 Cor. xi. 13; cf. 5, xii. 11) as visiting Ephesus and being found out, may be seen in Rev. ii. 2.

not sparing: a Pauline phrase, Rom. viii. 32, xi. 21; 1 Cor. vii. 28; 2 Cor. i. 23, xii. 6, xiii. 2 (elsewhere only 2 Pet. ii. 4 f.).

30. Besides dangers from outside, Paul discerned the germs of 'perverse' teaching latent in certain local tendencies, of which we may form some idea from 1 Tim. i. 3–7, where it is the perversity or arbitrariness of the doctrine of certain misguided teachers which is censured. They have 'swerved' (verse 6) from the direct road of truth into 'devious' paths—the idea of 'perverse things' here (cf. xiii. 8).

31. three years: cf. note in xix. 10.

to admonish: *lit.* 'put in mind.' The connexion of this with the function of oversight in verse 28 becomes clear, when we read of the philosopher Crates that 'he was called *Door-opener*, from his entering every house and admonishing it' (*Diog. Laert.* vi. 86). Such a 'guide, philosopher, and friend' was styled an inspector (*kataskopos*) or guardian (*episkopos*).

night and day: Paul's own Jewish order, cf. xxvi. 7 (contrast ix. 24); 1 Thess. ii. 9, iii. 10; 1 Tim. v. 5; 2 Tim. i. 3.

with tears: indicative of his intense pastoral sympathy.

32. which is able: i. e. the word of God's (or, as our oldest MS. reads, 'the Lord's,' i. e. Christ's, as in verse 24) grace, the

the inheritance among all them that are sanctified.
33, 34 I coveted no man's silver, or gold, or apparel. Ye your-
selves know that these hands ministered unto my neces-
35 sities, and to them that were with me. In all things I
gave you an example, how that so labouring ye ought to
help the weak, and to remember the words of the Lord
Jesus, how he himself said, It is more blessed to give
than to receive.

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authentic gospel he had preached, in contrast to the 'perverse' teachings of verse 30. This can 'build up' (Eph. ii. 20; cf. iv. 12, 16) Christian manhood and finally secure for believers 'the inheritance among all the sanctified,' i. e. the saints of the covenant, who have thereby inheritance of God (cf. Deut. xxxiii. 3, 4): see xxvi. 18 and Eph. i. 18, where 'His inheritance among the saints' (parallel to 'the hope of His calling') seems to mean the inheritance among the saints which He confers (so Col. i. 12; cf. Eph. i. 14, v. 5; Col. iii. 24, for the idea of 'the inheritance'). The thought and language of this verse, like much else in the speech, is Pauline and parallel to Ephesians, without being so parallel in turn of phrase as to suggest study of Paul's letters as cause (cf. Introduction, p. 24).

33. At once rebutting a taunt that must often have been flung at him (as by the Judaizers, 2 Cor. xii. 15–18), and delicately hinting at a temptation of their position.

34. these hands: graphic; our author still sees the action accompanying the words: cf. 1 Cor. iv. 12 for his practice at Ephesus.

35. ought to help the weak: i. e. in body or estate. For this part of the duty of elders, that later assigned to 'deacons' as distinct from 'bishops' (overseers), cf. 1 Cor. xii. 28, 'helps.' Similarly in xvi. 15 f. we find a voluntary ministry trying to fulfil 1 Thess. v. 14, 'admonish the disorderly, encourage the fainthearted, support the weak (in estate)'— words addressed to the community as a whole (cf. Rom. xii. 8, 'he that giveth . . . that sheweth mercy'). Concern for the poor was a passion with Paul: cf. Gal. ii. 10; 1 Tim. vi. 17–19; Titus iii. 14.

the words of the Lord Jesus. Though Paul evidently knew and handed on to his converts (with the aid of his assistants) certain of Christ's sayings (cf. 1 Cor. vii. 10–12, 25, and 'the traditions' alluded to in 2 Thess. ii. 15; 1 Cor. xi. 2), yet this seems to be the sole one he cites verbally (save 1 Tim. v. 18?). Further, it seems the only one in the N. T. not found in the Gospels. Why should it have escaped our evangelists? Is it true

And when he had thus spoken, he kneeled down, and 36
prayed with them all. And they all wept sore, and fell 37
on Paul's neck, and kissed him, sorrowing most of all for 38
the word which he had spoken, that they should behold
his face no more. And they brought him on his way
unto the ship.

And when it came to pass that we were parted from 21
them, and had set sail, we came with a straight course
unto Cos, and the next day unto Rhodes, and from
thence unto Patara: and having found a ship crossing 2
over unto Phœnicia, we went aboard, and set sail. And 3
when we had come in sight of Cyprus, leaving it on the
left hand, we sailed unto Syria, and landed at Tyre: for
there the ship was to unlade her burden. And having 4
found the disciples, we tarried there seven days: and

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that it has escaped them? Hort suggests that, after all, the maxim may be Paul's summing up of many 'words' (*logoi*) of Jesus, just as in 1 Cor. vii. 10 f., he gives the substance rather than the words of the Lord's precept as to divorce. Be this as it may, Paul here appeals to the sentiment as already familiar to his hearers as part of the oral teaching (*catechēsis*) derived from the Master—the force of 'he himself said,' like the *ipse dixit* with which the Pythagoreans quoted proof-texts from their master. Notice that the saying is an extra beatitude: cf. 1 *Clem.* ii. 1.

38. sorrowing most, &c. For the importance of this comment in relation to the question of Paul's later movements, see verse 25.

xxi. 1–16. *The rest of the journey to Jerusalem.*

1. Cos: an island south-west of Caria, while the great island of **Rhodes** lies due south of Caria. **Patara**, a seaport rather to the south-west of the Lycian coast. Hitherto they had sailed in a ship suitable for coasting along in fairly sheltered waters. But now they were about to run across the open sea to Syria, and must transship. *Codex Bezae* adds after Patara, 'and Myra,' probably assimilating the route to that described in xxvii. 5: but that was due to contrary winds (see note there), whereas in this case there was no reason why the long run, past the west of Cyprus, should not begin at Patara.

4. having found the disciples: i.e. after some inquiry, the

these said to Paul through the Spirit, that he should not
5 set foot in Jerusalem. And when it came to pass that
we had accomplished the days, we departed and went on
our journey; and they all, with wives and children,
brought us on our way, till we were out of the city: and
6 kneeling down on the beach, we prayed, and bade each
other farewell; and we went on board the ship, but they
returned home again.
7 And when we had finished the voyage from Tyre, we
arrived at Ptolemais; and we saluted the brethren, and
8 abode with them one day. And on the morrow we
departed, and came unto Cæsarea: and entering into the
house of Philip the evangelist, who was one of the seven,

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local Christians being perhaps few for so large a city (cf. their going in a body to see their visitors embark).

through the Spirit: i. e. Paul again chooses deliberately to press on to Jerusalem, though the Spirit again gives God's servant the chance to do otherwise. There is point in this. Our author is impressing the fact that Paul had counted the cost, and that come what might it was right for him to do as he did: cf. 10 f. and note on xx. 25.

5. had accomplished the days: i. e. the seven days of enforced delay, while the ship was unloading, &c. Though Luke dwells on the beautifully fraternal spirit between hosts and guests, yet it was probably with some impatience that Paul awaited the day of sailing.

7. Ptolemais: the ancient Acco (Judges i. 31), the modern Acre. As it lies only some thirty miles from Tyre, they would complete the sail early in the day, and so had most of it to spend with 'the brethren.'

8. we departed: still by sea; there is no mention of their 'baggage,' as in verse 15.

Philip the evangelist, or missionary preacher (see Eph. iv. 11, 'He gave some as apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists': cf. 2 Tim. iv. 5), as distinct from Philip the Apostle. This was probably a title by which he was generally known, and so it is inserted instinctively by our author, who goes on to define him in terms of his own narrative as 'one of the seven' (vi. 3, 5). He must have been a man of some substance to be able to entertain the party.

we abode with him. Now this man had four daughters, 9
virgins, which did prophesy. And as we tarried there 10
many days, there came down from Judæa a certain pro-
phet, named Agabus. And coming to us, and taking 11
Paul's girdle, he bound his own feet and hands, and said,
Thus saith the Holy Ghost, So shall the Jews at Jeru-
salem bind the man that owneth this girdle, and shall
deliver him into the hands of the Gentiles. And when 12
we heard these things, both we and they of that place
besought him not to go up to Jerusalem. Then Paul 13
answered, What do ye, weeping and breaking my heart?
for I am ready not to be bound only, but also to die at
Jerusalem for the name of the Lord Jesus. And when 14
he would not be persuaded, we ceased, saying, The will
of the Lord be done.

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9. four daughters, virgins, which did prophesy. Luke takes every opportunity of reminding us of the Spirit's presence with the Christians: and it is specially characteristic of him to bring out the way in which women shared the privileges of the gospel (cf. ii. 17, and the prominence of Priscilla). The virginity of the prophetesses was probably connected with their sense of being specially devoted to God in virtue of their 'gift' (cf. 1 Cor. vii. 32–34).

10. tarried there many days: rather, 'several days'—more than a few. The speed of the voyage had left Paul these days to spare, and he spent them resting at Cæsarea. He wished to arrive only just in time for Pentecost, probably in the hope that by immediate public observance of the feast he might falsify misleading rumours about his attitude to Judaism.

11. The symbolic action of Agabus (cf. xi. 28) was quite in the manner of an O. T. prophet. It served to enforce with special vividness the warning that had been throughout the journey ringing in Paul's ears. It is evidently the object of our writer here, and in the moving account in verses 12–14, to bring home to his readers the sense of heroic grandeur which Paul's indomitable purpose at this time had left upon his own soul: cf. Luke ix. 51.

13. breaking my heart: rather, 'unnerving,' 'unmanning.' He was ready to die at Jerusalem—much more at Rome after further years of fruitful labour.

14. The will of the Lord be done. It is striking how our

15 And after these days we took up our baggage, and
16 went up to Jerusalem. And there went with us also *certain* of the disciples from Cæsarea, bringing *with them* one Mnason of Cyprus, an early disciple, with whom we should lodge.

17 And when we were come to Jerusalem, the brethren
18 received us gladly. And the day following Paul went in with us unto James; and all the elders were present.

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author makes no attempt to 'harmonize' the apparent contradiction between this and the fact that it was 'through the Spirit' that the disciples at Tyre urged Paul to desist from his plan. He feels that God was only trying His servant, in order to bring out the heroism and voluntary nature of his self-devotion the more clearly. One, however, who was not simply recording facts, with their practical harmony in discord, but was writing with an artificial tendency, would have been careful to unify things.

15. we took up our baggage, and went up to Jerusalem. Better 'we packed up and began our journey up to Jerusalem,' for the next verse implies a stop by the way.

16. Render 'bringing us to him with whom we might lodge, one Mnason, an early disciple.' The journey to Jerusalem was over sixty miles: hence the need of a halfway house for the night, say at Lydda. This is a good instance of our author's terse, allusive style. Mnason, a Hellenist, to judge from his name, was perhaps one of those scattered from Jerusalem in viii. 1. Like Philip at Cæsarea, he had settled in the spot where his preaching had taken root (cf. xi. 19 f.). Thus his discipleship went back to the beginnings of the gospel (cf. xi. 15, xv. 7).

Paul's experiences in Jerusalem on his last visit.
xxi. 17—xxiii. 30.

xxi. 17–26. *Reception by the leaders of the church: their plan for his safety.*

17. received us gladly: emphatic, especially in the original. Probably 'the brethren' here means principally the leaders, to whom Paul's arrival would first be reported.

18. A formal audience with the recognized head of the local church and his colleagues. The apostles, or at least the chief of them, were absent, probably on their proper missionary work.

with us. The eye-witness is still our authority; and this probably holds for the whole stay in Jerusalem, since there is no perceptible change in style or in fullness of detail (e.g. 27^{a}, 30,^{b} 35,^{a} 33).

And when he had saluted them, he rehearsed one by one 19
the things which God had wrought among the Gentiles
by his ministry. And they, when they heard it, glorified 20
God; and they said unto him, Thou seest, brother, how
many thousands there are among the Jews of them which
have believed; and they are all zealous for the law: and 21
they have been informed concerning thee, that thou
teachest all the Jews which are among the Gentiles to
forsake Moses, telling them not to circumcise their
children, neither to walk after the customs. What is 22
it therefore? they will certainly hear that thou art come.
Do therefore this that we say to thee: We have four 23
men which have a vow on them; these take, and purify 24
thyself with them, and be at charges for them, that they

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19. saluted them: probably formally, in the name of the churches whose delegates were standing by—a striking demonstration of Gentile loyalty of heart to the mother church.

which God had wrought . . . by his ministry. Such was the emphasis of his narrative, on which, as on former occasions (see xv. 4, 12; cf. ix. 27, xviii. 23, also Peter in xi. 17 f.), Paul relied as the one convincing apology for the principles on which he had gone.

20. among the Jews: i. e. in Judæa as a whole, in contrast to the Dispersion, see verse 21. Jerusalem was then full of Jews up for Pentecost.

21. informed: too weak; rather, 'had it dinned into them,' e. g. by Jews from abroad, when up in Judæa for feasts, &c.

23. which have a vow on them: rather, 'of their own taking,' like Paul's in xviii. 18. Paul was asked, then, simply to manifest in a marked way his regard for one of 'the customs' which Jewish piety revered as of Mosaic authority—this one being an extension by analogy of the Nazirite vow (Num. vi. 1 ff.). It was held a work of piety to help needy Jews with the expense of the sacrifices offered when the vow was paid. Herod Agrippa gained much credit in this way (Jos. *Ant.* xix. 16. 1).

24. purify thyself with them: i. e. join them in the ritual purifications previous to entry into the temple, to give notice of the approaching expiry of the vow, in order that sacrifices might be duly offered on the day arranged with the priests, see verse 26.

may shave their heads: and all shall know that there is
no truth in the things whereof they have been informed
concerning thee; but that thou thyself also walkest
25 orderly, keeping the law. But as touching the Gentiles
which have believed, we wrote, giving judgement that
they should keep themselves from things sacrificed to
idols, and from blood, and from what is strangled, and
26 from fornication. Then Paul took the men, and the
next day purifying himself with them went into the
temple, declaring the fulfilment of the days of purifica-
tion, until the offering was offered for every one of
them.

27 And when the seven days were almost completed, the
Jews from Asia, when they saw him in the temple, stirred
28 up all the multitude, and laid hands on him, crying out,
Men of Israel, help: This is the man, that teacheth all

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shave their heads: i. e. offer up the growth of hair during 'the days of separation' named in verse 26, following Num. vi. 5 in LXX.

walkest orderly: rather, 'walkest thyself also in observance of the Law': cf. 1 Cor. ix. 20 for Paul's practice.

25. James reminds Paul that this will give Gentile believers no just cause of offence, since he and his colleagues, the elders (see note on xv. 41), had already made clear their attitude towards the claim that the Law was binding on Gentiles: cf. note on xv. 20.

wrote: 'sent' is the better reading, cf. xv. 22.

26. See note on verse 24. The words, 'the fulfilment . . . offered,' virtually cite the substance of Num. vi. 5, 'until,' &c., going closely with 'separation' (better than 'purification').

xxi. 27–40. *Jews from Asia cause Paul's arrest.*

27. the seven days: i. e. intervening between the notice given in verse 26 and the completion of the vow. Note the 'allusiveness' of the phrase, natural in one who was on the spot.

almost completed: i. e. about the fifth or sixth day, xxiv. 11.

the Jews from Asia: probably from Ephesus in particular, cf. verse 29.

men everywhere against the people, and the law, and this
place: and moreover he brought Greeks also into the
temple, and hath defiled this holy place. For they had 29
before seen with him in the city Trophimus the Ephesian,
whom they supposed that Paul had brought into the
temple. And all the city was moved, and the people 30
ran together: and they laid hold on Paul, and dragged
him out of the temple: and straightway the doors were
shut. And as they were seeking to kill him, tidings came 31
up to the chief captain of the band, that all Jerusalem
was in confusion. And forthwith he took soldiers and 32
centurions, and ran down upon them: and they, when
they saw the chief captain and the soldiers, left off
beating Paul. Then the chief captain came near, and 33
laid hold on him, and commanded him to be bound with
two chains; and inquired who he was, and what he had
done. And some shouted one thing, some another, 34
among the crowd: and when he could not know the
certainty for the uproar, he commanded him to be
brought into the castle. And when he came upon the 35

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28. against the people, &c. A charge false, indeed, but not unnatural in enraged partisans: cf. the case of Stephen, vi. 13.

29. Hatred hesitated not to draw the worst of hasty inferences. The act would indeed have been foolhardy. An inscription from the very wall separating the inner from the outer court (the court of the Gentiles) has been found, defining death as the penalty of such intrusion.

30. dragged him out of the temple: so as not to profane the sacred place with his blood. The shutting of the doors by the temple officials is a vivid touch.

31. chief captain of the band: i.e. the military tribune (*chiliarch*) of the cohort, stationed in the Tower of Antonia, which commanded the temple at its north-west corner and was connected with it by two sets of stairs: cf. verse 35, 'the stairs.'

32. The garrison was kept ready for emergencies during feasts, when Jerusalem was full of excitable Jews.

34. the castle: rather, 'the fortified enclosure' or 'fort.'

stairs, so it was, that he was borne of the soldiers for the
36 violence of the crowd; for the multitude of the people
followed after, crying out, Away with him.
37 And as Paul was about to be brought into the castle,
he saith unto the chief captain, May I say something
38 unto thee? And he said, Dost thou know Greek? Art
thou not then the Egyptian, which before these days
stirred up to sedition and led out into the wilderness the
39 four thousand men of the Assassins? But Paul said, I
am a Jew, of Tarsus in Cilicia, a citizen of no mean city:
and I beseech thee, give me leave to speak unto the
40 people. And when he had given him leave, Paul,
standing on the stairs, beckoned with the hand unto
the people; and when there was made a great silence,
he spake unto them in the Hebrew language, saying,
22 Brethren and fathers, hear ye the defence which I now
make unto you.

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38. the Egyptian: the most recent of the pseudo-prophets who during this critical period appeared in Palestine. Josephus mentions him in his *Jewish War* (ii. 13. 5) as having 30,000 adherents, a large proportion of whom were killed or captured by the Procurator Felix. In his *Antiquities* (xx. 8. 6), however, he gives the slain as 400, an estimate hard to reconcile with his other account, but consonant with that in Acts. Here is a case in which it is impossible to argue Luke's dependence on Josephus (note specially his reference to 'the Assassins'); and it creates a presumption that in the other cases of parallelism also he is independent, e. g. the cases of Theudas and Judas of Galilee, v. 36 f.

the Assassins: rather, 'the Sicarii,' a fanatically patriotic party or secret society among the Jews in the period of unrest leading up to the Revolt in A. D. 66. They were 'Men of the Dagger' (*sica*), who removed their opponents covertly.

40. in the Hebrew language: i. e. Aramaic, not the classical Hebrew in which the O. T. is mostly written, and which then was familiar only to the learned. Speaking in the vernacular, Paul obtained a better hearing than if he had used the non-national Greek (cf. xxii. 2).

xxii. 1–21. *Paul's defence before his countrymen.*

The speech is very vividly reported. It meets the threefold

And when they heard that he spake unto them in the 2
Hebrew language, they were the more quiet: and he saith,

I am a Jew, born in Tarsus of Cilicia, but brought 3
up in this city, at the feet of Gamaliel, instructed according to the strict manner of the law of our fathers, being zealous for God, even as ye all are this day: and 4
I persecuted this Way unto the death, binding and delivering into prisons both men and women. As also the 5
high priest doth bear me witness, and all the estate of the elders: from whom also I received letters unto the brethren, and journeyed to Damascus, to bring them

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charge of disloyalty to the People, the Law, the Temple (xxi. 28), by an autobiographical sketch, shewing how genuine a Jew he was, how hard he had been to convince, and how it was only by special Divine revelation that his own first desire to preach to his own countrymen had been overruled.

3. He was by training from early youth, if not by birth itself, as zealous for 'the Law of the fathers' as any of his hearers (cf. Rom. ix. 4), and that according to its most rigorous acceptation (cf. xxvi. 5): cf. Gal. i. 13 f.; Phil. iii. 4 ff.

zealous for God, even as ye all are this day. Cf. Rom. x. 2.

4. this Way (cf. ix. 2) **unto the death:** certainly in aim, and actually so in the case of Stephen. Did he get so far in other cases? Not if one judge by this speech itself; otherwise what comes next would seem rather tame: cf. verse 19 f., where Stephen's blood is named as if exceptional. In this light the words in xxvi. 10, 'when they were put to death, I gave my vote against them,' would merely be a general statement (cf. xxvi. 11 f., 'foreign cities') based on Stephen's case alone (cf. ix. 1, 'yet breathing threatening and slaughter,' after mention of Stephen's death, viii. 1[a], followed by imprisonment of men and women, viii. 3). Nor, with all his horror at his former persecution of the Church of God (1 Cor. xv. 9; Gal. i. 13; 1 Tim. i. 13), does Paul say anything in his letters to warrant so broad a statement as Acts xxvi. 10.

5. the estate of the elders: i. e. the Sanhedrin. In xxvi. 10, 12 the authorities named are the chief priests, probably the leading members of the Sanhedrin at this time: see xxii. 30.

the brethren: i. e. the local Jews; in ix. 2, 'the synagogues.'

to bring them also which were there: cf. xxvi. 11, 'I persecuted them even unto foreign cities,' where Damascus is

also which were there unto Jerusalem in bonds, for to
6 be punished. And it came to pass, that, as I made my
journey, and drew nigh unto Damascus, about noon,
suddenly there shone from heaven a great light round
7 about me. And I fell unto the ground, and heard a voice
saying unto me, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?
8 And I answered, Who art thou, Lord? And he said unto
me, I am Jesus of Nazareth, whom thou persecutest.
9 And they that were with me beheld indeed the light, but
10 they heard not the voice of him that spake to me. And
I said, What shall I do, Lord? And the Lord said unto
me, Arise, and go into Damascus; and there it shall be
told thee of all things which are appointed for thee to do.
11 And when I could not see for the glory of that light,
being led by the hand of them that were with me, I came
12 into Damascus. And one Ananias, a devout man ac-
cording to the law, well reported of by all the Jews that
13 dwelt there, came unto me, and standing by me said unto
me, Brother Saul, receive thy sight. And in that very

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immediately specified. This might seem to favour the view that he was on the track of fugitives from Jerusalem: yet from ix. 2 it is probable that in both these places local believers are mainly intended.

6. about noon: a personal note, not in ix. 3, but in xxvi. 12.

7 ff. See notes on ix. 3 ff.

8. Jesus of Nazareth: *lit.* 'the Nazaræan' (ii. 22, iii. 6, iv. 10, vi. 14, xxvi. 9), the title under which Jesus was known to the Jews generally (contrast x. 38)—his followers being 'the party of the Nazaræan,' xxiv. 5—and so used here in speaking to Jews (contrast ix. 5, and xxvi. 15 after verse 9).

10. Probably the most accurate report of the words used, see ix. 5 f., xxvi. 14 ff.

11. for the glory of that light: a touch of personal experience.

12. Note the description of Ananias as part of Paul's apology.

13. It is notable that Paul makes no reference to Ananias as being sent by a vision such as Luke records in ix. 10–16; for this would surely have been very much to his purpose (cf. verse 17).

hour I looked up on him. And he said, The God of our 14
fathers hath appointed thee to know his will, and to see
the Righteous One, and to hear a voice from his mouth
For thou shalt be a witness for him unto all men of what 15
thou hast seen and heard. And now why tarriest thou? 16
arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins, calling
on his name. And it came to pass, that, when I had 17
returned to Jerusalem, and while I prayed in the temple,
I fell into a trance, and saw him saying unto me, Make 18
haste, and get thee quickly out of Jerusalem: because
they will not receive of thee testimony concerning me.
And I said, Lord, they themselves know that I imprisoned 19
and beat in every synagogue them that believed on thee:
and when the blood of Stephen thy witness was shed, 20
I also was standing by, and consenting, and keeping
the garments of them that slew him. And he said unto 21
me, Depart: for I will send thee forth far hence unto
the Gentiles.

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14. In this description of his Call every phrase tells: 'the God of our fathers,' 'foreordained (cf. iii. 20, xxvi. 16) thee,' 'to recognize His will' (in place of former blindness like that of his hearers), 'to see the Righteous One' (a favourite Jewish name for Messiah, cf. iii. 14, vii. 52), and so to get his orders from Messiah's own mouth.

15. This looks as if the anticipatory tendency plain in xxvi. 16–18, and probable in ix. 15 f., had just coloured this account of Ananias' words.

16. be baptized, and wash away: both are middle forms. So, 'have thyself baptized: similarly in 1 Cor. vi. 11, x. 2. Primitive baptism was on the human side essentially an *act* of self-dedication, the completion of 'the obedience of faith' (Rom. i. 5), cf. Mark xvi. 16.

calling on his name: i.e. invoking Jesus as Messiah, see note on ix. 14.

17. The fitness of this reference to the vision 'in the temple, as helping to refute part of the charge in xxi. 28, is obvious (especially in contrast to xxvi. 16–18): cf. ix. 26 ff.

19. The gist of his plea, the patent contrast between the two stages in his career. What but a Divine act could have wrought such a change?

21. far hence unto the Gentiles: rather, 'to nations afar off';

22 And they gave him audience unto this word; and
they lifted up their voice, and said, Away with such
a fellow from the earth: for it is not fit that he should
23 live. And as they cried out, and threw off their garments,
24 and cast dust into the air, the chief captain commanded
him to be brought into the castle, bidding that he should
be examined by scourging, that he might know for what
25 cause they so shouted against him. And when they
had tied him up with the thongs, Paul said unto the
centurion that stood by, Is it lawful for you to scourge
26 a man that is a Roman, and uncondemned? And when
the centurion heard it, he went to the chief captain, and
told him, saying, What art thou about to do? for this man
27 is a Roman. And the chief captain came, and said unto
him, Tell me, art thou a Roman? And he said, Yea.
28 And the chief captain answered, With a great sum

see ii. 39, cf. Joel ii. 18; Eph. ii. 13 (cf. Isa. lvii. 19). At last Paul dares to approach the burning topic—and the conflagration bursts out afresh. His argument is lost on them.

xxii. 22–24. *Renewal of the tumult: Paul carried inside the fort.*

23. threw off their garments: rather, 'tossing their garments,' just as they threw dust in the air to relieve their excitement and express their execration—in the demonstrative manner of an Oriental crowd.

24. The *chiliarch* felt he had not got to the bottom of an affair which evoked such feelings, and proposed to elicit the truth from the culprit himself by torture, a brutal method usual in antiquity, and too often since then.

xxii. 25–29. *Paul invokes his rights as a Roman citizen.*

25. tied him up: rather, 'stretched him forward,' i.e. in a sort of stooping posture, the better to scourge his back. 'The thongs' would be familiar to the readers in this connexion.

a Roman, and uncondemned. The act was illegal on both counts. In no case was torture to be applied to a Roman citizen; while it was against Roman law to torture any man before his case had been formally investigated (*re incognita*) and a presumption established against him: cf. xvi. 37.

28. With a great sum, &c. As much as to say, 'Can it be that you are speaking the truth?' Under Claudius citizenship was

obtained I this citizenship. And Paul said, But I am
a Roman born. They then which were about to examine 29
him straightway departed from him: and the chief
captain also was afraid, when he knew that he was
a Roman, and because he had bound him.

But on the morrow, desiring to know the certainty, 30
wherefore he was accused of the Jews, he loosed him,
and commanded the chief priests and all the council
to come together, and brought Paul down, and set him
before them.

And Paul, looking stedfastly on the council, said, 23

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sold to all and sundry by Messalina, and by his favourite freedmen. The officer was probably a Greek, his name Claudius being adopted on purchasing the Roman franchise.

a Roman **born.** How his father came by it we can only guess, probably by some special service to Rome, rather than by purchase or manumission. It is specially to our author's mind to be able to write this verse, connecting the typical Christian and his extrication with Rome and its usages.

29. to examine him: i.e. by torture.

bound him: not only as in verse 25, but even in the public and severe way described in xxi. 33. From these chains he would at once be released, a slighter form of bonds being substituted, to judge from the next verse and subsequent references to bonds (xxiv. 27, xxvi. 29, cf. xxiii. 18): cf. the *custodia militaris* described in xxviii. 16. The crime of which Paul *primâ facie* was guilty, viz. sedition, was a very grave one in Roman eyes.

xxiii. 1–10. *Paul before the Sanhedrin.*

Still at a loss as to the rights of the case, the *chiliarch* tried to elicit the truth in the more judicial atmosphere of the representative assembly of the Jews, which would presumably be able to state Paul's crime with precision. The meeting, somewhere on the temple mount though not in the temple proper, was rather informal in character. The account seems to suffer from the fact that Luke was no longer an eye-witness. Thus the proceedings cannot have begun with the accused's address, without any case being stated against him for the *chiliarch's* information. But Paul's defence is the central interest to our author, as bringing out certain points in his relations to Judaism and of Judaism to his gospel.

Brethren, I have lived before God in all good conscience
2 until this day. And the high priest Ananias commanded
them that stood by him to smite him on the mouth.
3 Then said Paul unto him, God shall smite thee, thou
whited wall: and sittest thou to judge me according to
the law, and commandest me to be smitten contrary
4 to the law? And they that stood by said, Revilest thou
5 God's high priest? And Paul said, I wist not, brethren,
that he was high priest: for it is written, Thou shalt not
6 speak evil of a ruler of thy people. But when Paul per-
ceived that the one part were Sadducees, and the other
Pharisees, he cried out in the council, Brethren, I am

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1. I have lived: *lit.* 'lived the citizen life,' i. e. as a member of my polity, viz. the Jewish theocracy. He begins by protesting that he is a loyal Jew.

2. Ananias: son of Nebedæus, nominated by Herod of Chalcis (as a member of the native dynasty) about A. D. 47. He was an unscrupulous person, to judge from Josephus, *Ant.* xx. 9. 2.

to smite him on the mouth. The order was probably the passionate interruption of a partisan in a position of power, meant to browbeat one whose calm mien of innocence was an offence: cf. John xviii. 22.

3. whited wall: rather, 'whitewashed'—a proverbial expression for what looks well, but is not what it seems (cf. Ezek. xiii. 10 ff.). Ananias' end was in fact most ignominious (Jos. *Jewish War*, ii. 17. 9).

5. I wist not, &c. To be taken quite simply. Paul had been little in Jerusalem for many years, and did not know Ananias by sight. As it was not an ordinary meeting of the Sanhedrin, he was probably not presiding—Lysias' presence changing the nature of the proceedings.

brethren. Whatever warmth Paul may have been betrayed into, this conciliatory word shews his quick recovery, while his self-reproof in terms of the Law (Exod. xxviii. 28, LXX) was an impressive proof of his true Jewish piety. The whole episode is full of verisimilitude.

6. Some suppose that it was in connexion with the foregoing incident that Paul recognized the dual composition of the gathering. But more probably it was after further speech, appealing once more to the Vision at Damascus (and so not recorded, though implied in verse 9, and xxiv. 21), that he realized the division o

a Pharisee, a son of Pharisees: touching the hope and resur-
rection of the dead I am called in question. And when he 7
had so said, there arose a dissension between the Pharisees

sympathy among those present, according as belief or disbelief in the very idea of a Risen Life predisposed men's minds.

The question as to the ethics of what our author conceives as a piece of skilful tactics still remains. But the only serious question is whether Paul was ingenuous in representing the issue as virtually one of resurrection as a hope grounded in revelation—a belief which separated Pharisees from Sadducees. And surely his statement was true, at least to his own mind. For if a man admitted this principle, it became simply a matter of the credibility of Paul as witness to one whose risen energy implied his vindication by God as Messiah: if he denied it, there was no theoretic basis for the alleged fact. Further, Paul's own zeal in preaching Christ was due to his belief that he was risen. Destroy that belief in its very principle, and his gospel had lost its originating basis. Hence his cry was one of conviction, cf. xxiv. 21; while the reference to himself as a Pharisee helped concretely to apply the ultimate issue to his own case.

touching the hope and resurrection of the dead. There is no article: so 'touching hope and resurrection of the dead,' i.e. Israel's Messianic hope and the resurrection on which it depended. This comes out clearly in xxvi. 6–8, 'And now I stand on trial for hope in the Promise made of God unto our fathers, unto which promise our twelve tribes . . . hope to attain. Concerning this hope I am accused by the Jews, O King! Why is it judged of you incredible, if God doth raise the dead' (as is claimed of Jesus)? Here we see that it was of the Resurrection *as condition of the Messianic hope* (of a blissful Israel in which all true Israelites lived again) that Paul was thinking. That, too, was just the aspect under which the Pharisees—typical Jews in this—believed in a resurrection, and not as an abstract doctrine: and so the briefer form of Paul's cry in xxiv. 21, 'touching resurrection of the dead I am on trial,' was perfectly correct. What divided Paul from his brother Pharisees on this radical issue was his belief that resurrection, which was not 'incredible' to them, had occurred in the case of Jesus and had proved him Messiah (Rom. i. 4), the ground of Israel's hope for itself (see xxvi. 22 f.). As for the Sadducees, they held no Messianic hope in such a sense as to imply resurrection. Hence Paul, with his keen eye for the logic of a subject, was right in his cry; and he was justified in trying to make the Pharisees realize that they had no right to view his case in the same light as the Sadducaic party of the high-priests.

7. when he had so said: the best MS. reads 'whilst he was so

8 and Sadducees: and the assembly was divided. For
the Sadducees say that there is no resurrection, neither
9 angel, nor spirit: but the Pharisees confess both. And
there arose a great clamour: and some of the scribes
of the Pharisees' part stood up, and strove, saying, We
find no evil in this man: and what if a spirit hath
10 spoken to him, or an angel? And when there arose
a great dissension, the chief captain, fearing lest Paul
should be torn in pieces by them, commanded the
soldiers to go down and take him by force from among
them, and bring him into the castle.
11 And the night following the Lord stood by him, and

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speaking,' not restricting his words to those in verse 6, but including others of which these were the climax and moral, touching his own experience of Jesus as risen. It was this, rather than the standing issue between them, that the two parties fell to discussing.

8. neither angel, nor spirit: probably two forms of one idea (hence 'both,' in reference to it and resurrection), viz. spiritual existence apart from body as now known, such as was implied by Paul's testimony. There is some question as to the correctness of our author's description of this Sadducaic negation. It certainly represented their tendency as a party, though their denial was probably directed mainly against the extravagant angelology of the Pharisees.

9. the scribes of the Pharisees' part: i. e. their Scripture experts: cf. Mark ii. 16; Luke v. 30.

and what if a spirit hath spoken to him, or an angel: Perhaps a dash would be better than a query after 'angel.' Certain MSS. add, 'let us not fight against God,' as if they thus read the words, viz. as hinting a possibility the speaker hardly liked to utter. By 'spirit' is perhaps meant a disembodied human spirit, such as they understood Paul to claim Jesus to be. But in any case the quite general terms used are true to the situation.

10. to go down: i. e. from the raised daïs where the *chiliarch* was sitting, into the body of the hall.

xxiii. 11. *A vision of encouragement.*

Here we get a hint of the light in which our author views these detailed closing chapters, xxi. 17–end. Paul, the typical Christian, was delivering his witness to Jesus—a solemn, reiterated witness—in the centre of Judaism. It was now, as the new

said, Be of good cheer: for as thou hast testified concerning me at Jerusalem, so must thou bear witness also at Rome.

12 And when it was day, the Jews banded together, and bound themselves under a curse, saying that they would neither eat nor drink till they had killed Paul. 13 And they were more than forty which made this conspiracy. 14 And they came to the chief priests and the elders, and said, We have bound ourselves under a great curse, to taste nothing until we have killed Paul. 15 Now therefore do ye with the council signify to the chief captain that he bring him down unto you, as though ye would judge of his case more exactly: and we, or ever he come near, are ready to slay him. 16 But Paul's sister's son heard of their lying in wait, and he came and entered into the castle, and told Paul. 17 And Paul called unto him one of the centurions, and said, Bring this young man unto the chief captain: for he hath something to tell him. 18 So he took him, and brought him to the chief captain, and saith, Paul the prisoner called me unto him, and asked me to bring this young man unto thee, who hath something to say to thee. 19 And the chief captain took him by the hand, and going aside asked him privately, What is that thou hast to tell me? 20 And he said, The

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sections shew, as good as rejected there, after so fair a presentation; it yet remained to shew how the witness reached Rome after many difficulties and dangers, and how his message was received in the centre of the Roman Empire. 'Paul at Rome, the climax of the gospel' (Bengel).

xxiii. 12–24. *Plot against Paul's life. He is sent for safety to Cæsarea.*

15. signify: better 'lodge a statement with,' . . . 'to induce him to bring down,' &c.

16. Here the marg. 'having come in (upon them), and he entered,' &c., is to be preferred. In some way or other the youth happened to overhear the plot being discussed, without himself being seen.

Jews have agreed to ask thee to bring down Paul to-
morrow unto the council, as though thou wouldest inquire
21 somewhat more exactly concerning him. Do not thou
therefore yield unto them: for there lie in wait for him of
them more than forty men, which have bound themselves
under a curse, neither to eat nor to drink till they have
slain him: and now are they ready, looking for the
22 promise from thee. So the chief captain let the young
man go, charging him, Tell no man that thou hast
23 signified these things to me. And he called unto him
two of the centurions, and said, Make ready two hundred
soldiers to go as far as Cæsarea, and horsemen threescore
and ten, and spearmen two hundred, at the third hour
24 of the night: and *he bade them* provide beasts, that they
might set Paul thereon, and bring him safe unto Felix
25 the governor. And he wrote a letter after this form:
26 Claudius Lysias unto the most excellent governor

20. as though thou wouldest inquire. This does not accord with verse 1 5, where the plea was that the Sanhedrin was anxious to rehear Paul's case. But the difference is largely verbal, since they would allege the *chiliarch's* wish to get at the bottom of the matter as prompting their own wish.

23. two: better 'certain two' (cf. Luke vii. 19 marg.), perhaps pointing to our author's further knowledge of them. He may in fact have learnt the details of what follows through one of them. Note the accurate account of the escort (an immaterial point) which consisted of three different classes, viz. ordinary legionaries, cavalry, and native auxiliaries—'spearmen,' probably light-armed javelin men: also the reference to 'the third hour of the night' and the beasts for the journey.

xxiii. 25–30. *Lysias' letter to Felix.*

25. after this form. This does not necessarily imply that the letter is quoted *verbatim*, though what follows looks like it on the whole (yet see verses 26, 30). Such a letter, informing a superior magistrate of the *primâ facie* facts of a case, was called technically *elogium*. Luke may have heard it read in court at some stage of the case at Cæsarea, or a copy may have been supplied to Paul when he carried his case to Rome.

26. The opening is in correct form:—'Claudius Lysias (se-

Felix, greeting. This man was seized by the Jews, and 27
was about to be slain of them, when I came upon them
with the soldiers, and rescued him, having learned that
he was a Roman. And desiring to know the cause 28
wherefore they accused him, I brought him down unto
their council: whom I found to be accused about 29
questions of their law, but to have nothing laid to his
charge worthy of death or of bonds. And when it was 30
shewn to me that there would be a plot against the man,
I sent him to thee forthwith, charging his accusers also
to speak against him before thee.

So the soldiers, as it was commanded them, took Paul, 31
and brought him by night to Antipatris. But on the 32
morrow they left the horsemen to go with him, and
returned to the castle: and they, when they came to 33
Cæsarea, and delivered the letter to the governor,
presented Paul also before him. And when he had 34
read it, he asked of what province he was; and when

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xxii. 28) to his excellency the governor Felix.' Yet it does not define his exact office, viz. 'procurator.'

27. having learned that he was a Roman. This official falsehood marks the letter as in substance genuine, as our author would not have created a contradiction between the facts as narrated and the report of the *chiliarch*, who thus covers up his mistake, or rather claims to have acted in zeal for the Roman name.

28. Our best MS. (with indirect support from others) omits 'I brought . . . council,' taking the first half of the verse as an additional motive, 'and desiring,' &c.—so suppressing the rather futile episode with the Sanhedrin.

29. Cf. the tone of Gallio at Corinth (xviii. 14 f.).

30. The absence from the best MSS. of the usual salutation perhaps suggests that the letter is given in substance rather than *verbatim*.

Paul at Cæsarea. xxiii. 31—xxvi. 32.

xxiii. 31–35. *Paul reaches Cæsarea and is interrogated by Felix.*

31. Antipatris. A place refounded by Herod the Great and called after his father. It was more than halfway on the road to Cæsarea: probably the modern Râs el'Ain.

34. asked of what province he was: to make sure whether he

35 he understood that he was of Cilicia, I will hear thy
cause, said he, when thine accusers also are come: and
he commanded him to be kept in Herod's palace.

24 And after five days the high priest Ananias came down
with certain elders, and *with* an orator, one Tertullus;
2 and they informed the governor against Paul. And when
he was called, Tertullus began to accuse him, saying,

Seeing that by thee we enjoy much peace, and that
by thy providence evils are corrected for this nation,
3 we accept it in all ways and in all places, most excellent
4 Felix, with all thankfulness. But, that I be not further
tedious unto thee, I intreat thee to hear us of thy
5 clemency a few words. For we have found this man

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came under his jurisdiction. Cilicia then went along with the province of Syria, the legate of which was the superior of Felix; hence he could hear the case as his deputy. The point has a bearing on the date of Acts, since under Vespasian (A. D. 73–74) the two portions of Cilicia (Rough and Level) were united in a single province with its own governor. Hence our author's memory seems able to go back beyond these conditions to those obtaining at the time in question.

35. in Herod's palace: i. e. the governor's fortified residence, once Herod's palace.

xxiv. 1–9. *The Jews accuse Paul before Felix.*

1. an orator: rather, 'a public pleader,' 'an advocate.' The detailed description of Paul's opponents suggests that Luke himself was present at the trial.

2–3. Note how the practised pleader, Tertullus, opens with the wonted flattery of the judge (*captatio benevolentiae*).

2. thy providence: rather, simply 'forethought.'

3. Felix was perhaps the worst of a series of unsuitable procurators who contributed to the final revolt of the Jews, A. D. 66. He was brother to Pallas, the notorious freedman of the Emperor Claudius. Tacitus gives him an evil character as a man and as a ruler. Tertullus, indeed, gives some plausibility to his gross flattery, by his allusion to the zeal for the public peace which Felix had shown in suppressing certain robber bands which infested Judæa. But in other respects his remarks are a caricature of the facts. Felix was recalled in disgrace by Nero, on the petition of the Jews, a year or two later (verse 27).

a pestilent fellow, and a mover of insurrections among all the Jews throughout the world, and a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes: who moreover assayed to 6 profane the temple: on whom also we laid hold: from whom thou wilt be able, by examining him thyself, to 8 take knowledge of all these things, whereof we accuse him. And the Jews also joined in the charge, affirming 9 that these things were so.

And when the governor had beckoned unto him to 10 speak, Paul answered,

Forasmuch as I know that thou hast been of many years a judge unto this nation, I do cheerfully make my defence: seeing that thou canst take knowledge, that 11 it is not more than twelve days since I went up to worship at Jerusalem: and neither in the temple did 12 they find me disputing with any man or stirring up a crowd, nor in the synagogues, nor in the city. Neither 13

5. a pestilent fellow, and a mover of insurrections. The advocate skilfully places in the forefront the charge which would sound gravest in the judge's ears, viz. that of disturbing the public order in the provinces, about which Rome was very sensitive. It was far more to Felix that a man had proved himself an habitual nuisance and a stirrer-up of sedition everywhere, than that he was a leader of a religious sect among the Jews, or even that he had outraged Jewish scruples in relation to their temple—serious as the last was in the eyes of a governor who had had some experience of Jewish fanaticism on behalf of religion.

[**7, 8**ª in A.V. contain an insertion of the worse MSS., which adds nothing to our knowledge.]

xxiv. 10–21. *Paul's defence before Felix.*

10. Note the truth and moderation of Paul's *captatio benevolentiae.* Felix had had a good deal of experience in Jewish matters, having been procurator some four or five years, about A. D. 52 (1)–56 (7), apart from any office he may have held under his predecessor Cumanus (Tac. *Ann.* xii. 54; cf. Jos. *Ant.* xx. 8, 5).

11. not more than twelve days. An important note of time, shewing that Paul was seized by the Jews before the last of the seven days named in xxi. 27, though it is hard to reckon things to a day.

can they prove to thee the things whereof they now
14 accuse me. But this I confess unto thee, that after the
Way which they call a sect, so serve I the God of our
fathers, believing all things which are according to the
15 law, and which are written in the prophets: having
hope toward God, which these also themselves look for,
that there shall be a resurrection both of the just and

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14. the Way: a chosen phrase of the Christians (see verse 22); **sect** (i. e. self-chosen school of thought, *haeresis*, whence 'heresy'), that used by their foes. Either denoted them as a special type within Judaism, the service of 'the God of the fathers.' And Paul protests that he accepts that faith in its integrity, Law and Prophets —in contrast, for instance, to the Sadducees (themselves, like the Pharisees, xxvi. 5, a sect in Israel), who treated the Prophets as less authoritative than the Law (cf. xxvi. 27): cf. verse 15.

15. The hope of Israel, which rested mainly on the Prophets, was specifically that of the Messianic era of perfect righteousness and bliss for genuine Israelites in all ages, involving resurrection and judgement between 'the just' and 'unjust,' on the basis of the Law of the covenant with Jehovah. This was the Jewish faith as such: and Paul is here turning the tables on the Sadducees, who were prominent in the deputation (verse 1) but did not share the national hope: cf. xxiii. 6.

of the just and unjust. Belief in Israel varied on the question whether wicked *Israelites* (no others are here in question) were raised at all. But though the view certainly existed that they remained for ever in 'the grave' (Sheol), we have no real proof that this was the Pharisaic or official Jewish view at this time. Rather it seems probable that the resurrection of the just and unjust, implied in Dan. xii. 2, was generally held. Perhaps the resurrection of the unjust was often passed over in silence as no resurrection, because not 'unto life': see *Psalms of Solomon*, iii. 16, 'But they that fear the Lord shall rise unto life eternal'—though there the sinner is regarded as simply left to the destruction of the grave (cf. 2 Macc. vii. 14). Elsewhere as in John v. 29, we have not only 'resurrection of (=unto) life,' but also 'resurrection of (=unto) judgement,' the sinner being plunged deeper into non-life than before, i. e. out of 'Sheol,' the negation of bliss, into 'Gehenna,' a state of positive pain. This is 'the judgement to come,' alluded to in verse 25. In writing to Christians, as in Phil. iii. 11, Paul naturally dwelt on the Christian resurrection 'from among the dead'—the First Resurrection of Rev. xx. 5 f.: while in speaking more generally, especially to a pagan

unjust. Herein do I also exercise myself to have a 16
conscience void of offence toward God and men alway.
Now after many years I came to bring alms to my 17
nation, and offerings: amidst which they found me 18
purified in the temple, with no crowd, nor yet with
tumult: but *there were* certain Jews from Asia—who 19
ought to have been here before thee, and to make
accusation, if they had aught against me. Or else let 20
these men themselves say what wrong-doing they found,
when I stood before the council, except it be for this 21
one voice, that I cried standing among them, Touching
the resurrection of the dead I am called in question
before you this day.

But Felix, having more exact knowledge concerning 22

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he would allude to the final resurrection of all the dead, behind which loomed the judgement of the 'second death' (Rev. xx. 6).

16. Herein: i. e. in this faith, as motive to a blameless life.

17. after many years: better 'after an interval of several years.' The 'alms' would be the collection for 'the poor saints,' to which he no doubt contributed of his own earnings; the 'offerings' were perhaps thank-offerings, with which Paul would naturally celebrate in the temple 'the offering of the Gentiles' (Rom. xv. 16), as Pentecostal first-fruits of redeemed humanity (Hort suggests 'peace-offerings' in connexion with the collection and its acceptance). He, too, had a sacrifice on the completion of a right noble vow to offer, in arranging the sacrifices for the four men and himself in xxi. 26: see verse 18.

18. amidst which: marg., 'in presenting which,' i. e. the offerings.

but there were **certain Jews from Asia.** The broken construction, 'but certain Jews from Asia—who ought, &c.' (were the cause of the tumult), reflects the excitement of the moment.

21. Here Paul seems to press home the point already hinted at in verse 15, that the one thing his accusers there present (mainly Sadducees, verse 1) most resented, was the connexion of his distinctive belief in Jesus as Messiah with the principle which it involved, viz. resurrection of the dead, the very point on which they themselves were unorthodox.

xxiv. 22–27. *The attitude of Felix.*

22. Felix had 'a pretty exact notion' (the force of the com-

the Way, deferred them, saying, When Lysias the chief captain shall come down, I will determine your matter.
23 And he gave order to the centurion that he should be kept in charge, and should have indulgence; and not to forbid any of his friends to minister unto him.
24 But after certain days, Felix came with Drusilla, his

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parative) as to what belief in Jesus meant, and he saw that no case for his court had been made out against Paul. Had he had any special inducement to release the prisoner, he might have dismissed the suit out of hand; as it was, his interest lay in not annoying the Jews more than he could help. So he said, 'Adjourned' (*Amplius*)—against the arrival of Lysias with further evidence. How little this latter consideration really weighed with him is shewn by what follows in verses 24, 26.

23. This 'free custody,' as it was called, allowed his friends not only to visit him, but also to bring him food, books, letters, writing materials, &c., conditions of great significance for his influence, both in Cæsarea and throughout his distant churches, during the two years which followed (verse 27). How likely that during this time Luke would jot down notes on the events in Jerusalem and Cæsarea connected with a case still undecided (*sub judice*)! Such notes seem to shine through in the accuracy of incident and phrase in these detailed sections of Acts.

24. Felix came with Drusilla. Such a rendering obscures the meaning of the verse, which is that Felix 'arrived' in Cæsarea, i. e. from a distance (cf. xvii. 10, xviii. 27, xxviii. 21). This, taken along with what seems at first the needlessly emphatic phrase 'his own wife' (*lit.* 'woman'), probably hints that Felix had just returned from making her his own. It thus gives singular point to verse 25, and also explains the reference to 'Drusilla,' which does not seem to be satisfied by the view that it was at her request that Felix 'sent for' his strange prisoner (cf. the curiosity of her brother Agrippa II, in xxv. 22): for no reference is made to her or to any effect on her at this informal interview. The interest centres in the impression produced by Paul and his gospel on the detached mind of a Roman official, even the notorious Felix, fresh from a characteristic crime. Once this is realized, the episode ceases to be 'altogether pointless' (J. Weiss) for the history. On the contrary, by its very allusiveness, which throws so much on the reader for reading between the lines, it proves our author contemporary with Felix and writing for contemporaries in whose memories Felix still lived as a type of hardened wickedness.

Drusilla: youngest daughter of Agrippa I, one of her sisters being the Bernice of xxv. 13. She had been seduced

wife, which was a Jewess, and sent for Paul, and heard
him concerning the faith in Christ Jesus. And as he 25
reasoned of righteousness, and temperance, and the
judgement to come, Felix was terrified, and answered,
Go thy way for this time; and when I have a convenient
season, I will call thee unto me. He hoped withal that 26
money would be given him of Paul: wherefore also he
sent for him the oftener, and communed with him.
But when two years were fulfilled, Felix was succeeded 27
by Porcius Festus; and desiring to gain favour with the
Jews, Felix left Paul in bonds.

Festus therefore, having come into the province, after 25

by Felix into deserting her former husband, Azizus of Emesa, a small Syrian state.

25. Evidently Paul dwelt on that side of his gospel which Felix as a non-Jew could best understand—and which, as a man, he then most needed—viz. its stern demand for moral reformation. If he had only recently wronged Drusilla's former husband, his conscience would be unusually sensitive to such teaching. The way in which Felix turns away from disquieting impressions, and the mingling hope of a good bribe, which was the main factor in his policy towards Paul—inducing him even to venture further interviews with the bold preacher—these are lifelike touches. Felix must have had reason to believe that Paul was a man of importance or had funds at his disposal, before he would have hoped for a bribe worth his taking from a Jew of no special rank. This was probably due to the way in which his friends ministered to him (verse 23). Perhaps he was aware that strangers from a distance visited this seemingly humble man (cf. the flow to and fro during his imprisonment in Rome, implied in his later epistles, and the financial aid sent thither from Philippi at least, Phil. iv. 10 ff.).

27. It is rather surprising that there are no epistles which we can with confidence (1 Timothy is possible) refer to the two years at Cæsarea. Again, why does Luke, who was with him at the end of (and probably during) this period, pass over the bulk of it in silence? This raises the problem of the perspective of these closing chapters and of the book as a whole, which we discuss elsewhere (on xxviii. 30, and Introduction).

xxv. 1–5. *The arrival of Festus revives Paul's case.*

1. Porcius Festus (see xxiv. 27) was one of the better kind

2 three days went up to Jerusalem from Cæsarea. And
the chief priests and the principal men of the Jews
informed him against Paul; and they besought him,
3 asking favour against him, that he would send for him
to Jerusalem; laying wait to kill him on the way.
4 Howbeit Festus answered, that Paul was kept in charge
at Cæsarea, and that he himself was about to depart
5 *thither* shortly. Let them therefore, saith he, which are
of power among you, go down with me, and if there is
anything amiss in the man, let them accuse him.
6 And when he had tarried among them not more than
eight or ten days, he went down unto Cæsarea; and
on the morrow he sat on the judgement-seat, and
7 commanded Paul to be brought. And when he was
come, the Jews which had come down from Jerusalem

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of procurators, who however was unable to arrest the fatal trend of events which led a few years after his brief rule to the revolt of A. D. 66. The date of his arrival is much debated, since it would afford a sure basis for the chronology of the later chapters in Acts, and indeed more approximately for Paul's career as a whole. But no result commanding general acceptance has yet been reached, dates as far apart as 55 and 61 having been assigned for the recall of Felix. In our view the summer of 58 (59) is a probable date for the arrival of Festus (cf. art. 'Chronology' in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*).

having come into the province: i. e. of Syria, to which Judæa, his special care, belonged.

2. the principal men: a synonym for the elders, see verse 15; cf. xxviii. 17.

3. laying wait: rather, 'laying a plot.'

4. Festus answered. The first part of his answer is so obvious that it must have been meant as a kind of snub to the suggestion of moving the case back from the centre of government to Jerusalem. Having asserted his own dignity, however, Festus seems not to have been disinclined to humour the leading Jews in what they had at heart: see verse 9.

xxv. 6-12. *Paul appeals to Cæsar.*

6. not more than eight or ten days: just such a note of time as a man on the spot would write from memory in after years, not what he would insert in a diary or memorandum at the time.

stood round about him, bringing against him many and grievous charges, which they could not prove; while 8
Paul said in his defence, Neither against the law of the Jews, nor against the temple, nor against Cæsar, have I sinned at all. But Festus, desiring to gain favour with 9
the Jews, answered Paul, and said, Wilt thou go up to Jerusalem, and there be judged of these things before me? But Paul said, I am standing before Cæsar's 10
judgement-seat, where I ought to be judged: to the Jews have I done no wrong, as thou also very well knowest. If then I am a wrong-doer, and have com- 11
mitted anything worthy of death, I refuse not to die: but if none of those things is *true*, whereof these accuse me, no man can give me up unto them. I appeal unto Cæsar. Then Festus, when he had conferred with the 12
council, answered, Thou hast appealed unto Cæsar: unto Cæsar shalt thou go.

Now when certain days were passed, Agrippa the 13
king and Bernice arrived at Cæsarea, and saluted Festus.

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7 f. grievous charges. To judge from Paul's reply these seem, in the main, to have concerned the law and the temple: cf. verse 19. But some allusion seems to have been made to the Messianic claim of Jesus as involving rivalry with, and so treason towards, the emperor (styled generically 'Cæsar'). In this no doubt would lie the really serious element to the procurator's eye, if he took the thing as more than a matter of religious feeling or speculation, which, to judge again from verse 19, he does not seem to have done.

10 f. The sentiment of these verses had probably much interest for our author in relation to the situation of the Christians in the empire at the time of writing.

12. the council: i. e. the chief members of his staff as procurator, including legal experts, who acted as assessors to a Roman governor.

xxv. 13-27. *Paul's case referred informally to the Jewish king, Agrippa II.*

13. Agrippa the king, son of Agrippa I and last of the Herods. His title 'king' referred to the tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias

14 And as they tarried there many days, Festus laid Paul's
case before the king, saying, There is a certain man left
15 a prisoner by Felix: about whom, when I was at Jeru-
salem, the chief priests and the elders of the Jews in-
16 formed *me*, asking for sentence against him. To whom
I answered, that it is not the custom of the Romans
to give up any man, before that the accused have the
accusers face to face, and have had opportunity to make
his defence concerning the matter laid against him.
17 When therefore they were come together here, I made
no delay, but on the next day sat down on the judgement-
18 seat, and commanded the man to be brought. Concern-
ing whom, when the accusers stood up, they brought
19 no charge of such evil things as I supposed; but had
certain questions against him of their own religion, and
of one Jesus, who was dead, whom Paul affirmed to be
20 alive. And I, being perplexed how to inquire concerning
these things, asked whether he would go to Jerusalem,
21 and there be judged of these matters. But when Paul
had appealed to be kept for the decision of the emperor,
I commanded him to be kept till I should send him to
22 Cæsar. And Agrippa *said* unto Festus, I also could

(see Luke iii. 1), which he received in A. D. 53, certain cities in Galilee and Peræa being added later. Even earlier than this he had been made patron of the temple, with the right to nominate the high-priest. His relations with his sister Bernice were such as to give rise to grave scandal.

14. laid Paul's case before the king: viz. for his friendly advice as expert in Jewish matters.

16. This seems a statement coloured in his own favour, like that in the letter of Lysias (xxiii. 27): cf. verse 20.

21. the emperor: *lit.* 'the Augustus,' another and more dignified title of the Roman emperors. It is a subtly true touch that the Roman official here, and in verse 25, uses this honorific title in preference to Cæsar.

22. could wish: or 'was wishing,' marg., i. e. for some time past

wish to hear the man myself. To-morrow, saith he, thou shalt hear him.

So on the morrow, when Agrippa was come, and 23
Bernice, with great pomp, and they were entered into the place of hearing, with the chief captains, and the principal men of the city, at the command of Festus Paul was brought in. And Festus saith, King Agrippa, 24
and all men which are here present with us, ye behold this man, about whom all the multitude of the Jews made suit to me, both at Jerusalem and here, crying that he ought not to live any longer. But I found that 25
he had committed nothing worthy of death: and as he himself appealed to the emperor I determined to send him. Of whom I have no certain thing to write unto 26
my lord. Wherefore I have brought him forth before you, and specially before thee, king Agrippa, that, after examination had, I may have somewhat to write. For 27
it seemeth to me unreasonable, in sending a prisoner, not withal to signify the charges against him.

And Agrippa said unto Paul, Thou art permitted **26**
to speak for thyself. Then Paul stretched forth his hand, and made his defence.

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23. The hearing was semi-official, to furnish data to Festus in drawing up his report of the case to the emperor (*litterae dimissoriae*).

24. the multitude of the Jews: a supplement to what we read in verses 2, 7, 15, viz. that the Jewish populace both in Jerusalem and Cæsarea shewed their feelings by shouting against Paul.

26. my lord: rather, 'the lord,' i. e. our lord the emperor. The title *dominus* had been refused by Augustus and Tiberius as too arrogant; but it had been applied to emperors since Caligula. A true touch, perhaps caught by Luke from Festus' own lips.

xxvi. 1–23. *Paul's defence before Agrippa.*

1. Agrippa said. By his host's courtesy he takes the lead at the hearing occasioned by his presence.

2 I think myself happy, king Agrippa, that I am to
make my defence before thee this day touching all the
3 things whereof I am accused by the Jews: especially
because thou art expert in all customs and questions
which are among the Jews: wherefore I beseech thee
4 to hear me patiently. My manner of life then from my
youth up, which was from the beginning among mine
5 own nation, and at Jerusalem, know all the Jews; having
knowledge of me from the first, if they be willing to
testify, how that after the straitest sect of our religion
6 I lived a Pharisee. And now I stand *here* to be judged
for the hope of the promise made of God unto our
7 fathers; unto which *promise* our twelve tribes, earnestly
serving *God* night and day, hope to attain. And
concerning this hope I am accused by the Jews, O king!
8 Why is it judged incredible with you, if God doth raise

2 f. Again Paul's *captatio benevolentiae* is perfectly true to fact: cf. xxiv. 10.

4–8. His antecedents were not such as to bias him in favour of his present belief, which yet is the true fulfilment of the national hope in which he was reared, including the resurrection of the dead.

4. among mine own nation, and at Jerusalem: i. e. among Jews (at Tarsus) and especially at Jerusalem. The turn of phrase 'my nation,' not 'among the people' (as in addressing Jews), shews Paul was speaking as to a Gentile audience (cf. xxv. 23), though in the presence of men familiar with Judaism.

know all the Jews. He means those now interested in his case, i. e. Judæan Jews, who would remember his early career.

5. straitest sect, or, 'most exact (punctilious) school': cf. xxiv. 14. The word 'religion' here denotes the outward side of religion or worship: cf. Col. ii. 18; James i. 26 f.

7. our twelve tribes: rather, 'our twelve tribes in their unity' (*lit.* 'our twelve-tribed' people; cf. *Sib. Orac.* ii. 171, 'the twelve-tribed people'), a thought appealing to a Jewish heart: see *Apoc. of Baruch*, lxxviii. 4, 'Behold all we the twelve tribes are bound by one chain, inasmuch as we are born from one father.' Elsewhere in the N. T. the idea occurs only in Jas. i. 1: cf. 1 Pet. i. 1.

by the Jews, &c.: better 'by Jews, O king!' (strange anomaly).

8. This seems a sudden, impulsive appeal to Jews as represented

the dead? I verily thought with myself, that I ought 9
to do many things contrary to the name of Jesus of
Nazareth. And this I also did in Jerusalem: and I both 10
shut up many of the saints in prisons, having received
authority from the chief priests, and when they were
put to death, I gave my vote against them. And pun- 11
ishing them oftentimes in all the synagogues, I strove
to make them blaspheme; and being exceedingly mad
against them, I persecuted them even unto foreign cities.
Whereupon as I journeyed to Damascus with the 12
authority and commission of the chief priests, at midday, 13
O king, I saw on the way a light from heaven, above
the brightness of the sun, shining round about me and
them that journeyed with me. And when we were all 14
fallen to the earth, I heard a voice saying unto me in
the Hebrew language, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou

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by Agrippa, as though Paul felt that, if only they really believed the possibility of resurrection, their opposition to Jesus, the Risen One, must collapse. And he goes on to shew how it was here that his own armour of prejudice was pierced: for he too once thought it his *bounden duty* to oppose the Nazarene.

xxvi. 9-15. *The story of his own change from foe to apostle.*

10. the saints: a highly Jewish term (see ix. 13, and Paul's letters, *passim*).

and when they were put to death: *lit.* 'were being done away with'; perhaps a broad statement of principle simply, Stephen being the case in view: see note on xxii. 4.

Similarly **I gave my vote** may be figurative, and not a proof that Saul, young as he was, was a member of the Sanhedrin: it is equivalent to 'was sympathizing,' in ix. 60 (cf. 58, xxii. 20): cf. 'foreign cities,' in verse 11, probably a generic statement followed by the particular case.

11. I persecuted them, &c.: rather, 'I was following them up even unto foreign cities'; see xxii. 5, for the sense.

12. Whereupon: better, 'under these conditions' (of bitter hostility).

13 f. For the outward events, cf. notes on ix. 3 ff.

14. in the Hebrew language: i. e. Aramaic (see xxii. 2). This

15 me? it is hard for thee to kick against the goad. And
I said, Who art thou, Lord? And the Lord said, I
16 am Jesus whom thou persecutest. But arise, and stand
upon thy feet: for to this end have I appeared unto
thee, to appoint thee a minister and a witness both of
the things wherein thou hast seen me, and of the things
17 wherein I will appear unto thee; delivering thee from
the people, and from the Gentiles, unto whom I send
18 thee, to open their eyes, that they may turn from darkness
to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that

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is added for the sake of those unfamiliar with the name Saul in its native form *Saûl* – the form in which it was burned into his memory of this crisis.

it is hard, &c. A proverb found in Greek and Latin (e. g. Aesch. *Agam.* 1624, Plautus and Terence), but not in Hebrew. Accordingly it probably represents no words actually heard at his conversion (being absent from chaps. ix, xxii), but the spirit of the situation in terms fitted to Gentile hearers. Paul was quite Greek enough to have the proverb at his tongue's end on such an occasion. It refers to the severer goading received by an ox which kicks back at the goad that guides him in a given direction. Paul's recalcitrance, to use the same image, to the pricks of conscience, lay probably in his refusing to entertain the idea that righteousness, after all, could not be attained on the lines of the Pharisaic legalism. Perhaps his very zeal in championing its cause, was due partly to the momentary relief which action gave him from haunting doubts—which must have grown with the growth of the experience reflected in Rom. vii. 7 ff.—touching the possibility of inward salvation and peace on the lines of law (see Rom. vii. 24 f.).

16–18. In view of the last note it is clear that the more accurate verbal account of what followed immediately on the vision on the road must be sought in xxii. 10 ff. Here Paul adapts what he says to his Gentile hearers, to whom Ananias and his interview with Paul were of little moment. Hence, for the sake of rhetorical simplicity, he makes the revelation at his conversion shade off into kindred revelations which came to him somewhat later (i. e. at the interview with Ananias and the vision in the temple, xxii. 15, 17 f., 21, also during his retirement in 'Arabia'), as hinted in verse 16 [b], 'wherein I will appear unto thee.'

17. This verse and the beginning of the next echo expressions found in Jer. i. 7 f., Isa. xlii. 7, 16.

they may receive remission of sins and an inheritance among them that are sanctified by faith in me. Where- 19
fore, O king Agrippa, I was not disobedient unto the heavenly vision: but declared both to them of Damascus 20
first, and at Jerusalem, and throughout all the country of Judæa, and also to the Gentiles, that they should repent and turn to God, doing works worthy of repentance.
For this cause the Jews seized me in the temple, and 21
assayed to kill me. Having therefore obtained the help 22
that is from God, I stand unto this day testifying both to small and great, saying nothing but what the prophets and Moses did say should come; how that the Christ 23
must suffer, *and* how that he first by the resurrection of the dead should proclaim light both to the people and to the Gentiles.

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18. inheritance, &c. Cf. xx. 32.

20. and throughout all the country of Judæa. This looks like a later insertion, not so much because it contradicts Gal. i. 22, as because it goes beyond anything already recorded in Acts itself. Its origin would be easy to explain, viz. the instinct for completeness, stimulated by the analogy of i. 8. The theory of an interpolation (? originally in the margin of a MS.) is supported by a slight divergence in our MSS. at the beginning of this clause, where neither group presents a construction well adjusted to the context.

22. to small and great: i. e. lowly and influential, cf. viii. 10.

nothing but what, &c. A typical passage for the gospel as conceived in Acts. Christianity is Judaism fulfilled and perfected.

23. he first by the resurrection of the dead: rather, 'he as first from among a resurrection of the dead . . .': i. e. the Christ, in virtue of being first to arise from the dead, was qualified to proclaim light, particularly touching human destiny beyond the grave (cf. 2 Tim. i. 10, 'who brought death to nought, and threw light upon life and incorruption through the gospel'). The idea is that expressed in Col. i. 18, 'the firstborn from the dead': cf. 1 Cor. xv. 12 f., 20-23. Even the rendering, 'he first by a resurrection from the dead,' has the defect of making 'first' go with 'proclaim,' so representing 'the Christ' as first declarer, rather than guarantor in his own person, of resurrection.

24 And as he thus made his defence, Festus saith with
a loud voice, Paul, thou art mad; thy much learning
25 doth turn thee to madness. But Paul saith, I am not
mad, most excellent Festus; but speak forth words of
26 truth and soberness. For the king knoweth of these
things, unto whom also I speak freely: for I am per-
suaded that none of these things is hidden from him;
27 for this hath not been done in a corner. King Agrippa,
believest thou the prophets? I know that thou believest.
28 And Agrippa *said* unto Paul, With but little persuasion
29 thou wouldest fain make me a Christian. And Paul
said, I would to God, that whether with little or with
much, not thou only, but also all that hear me this day,
might become such as I am, except these bonds.

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xxvi. 24–29. *Effects upon Festus and Agrippa.*

24. The spirit of Festus' interruption is well caught by Ramsay's paraphrase: 'Paul, Paul, you are a great philosopher (in your own Jewish lore, cf. John vii. 15), but you have no common sense.' So said the Roman, with his suspicion of 'enthusiasm.'

25. soberness. The characteristic Greek virtue, *sophrosŭnē*, denoted mental balance and discipline, and was highly valued by Paul: see 1 Tim. ii. 9, 15; cf. 2 Tim. i. 7.

26 f. Paul appeals from the pagan Festus, unfamiliar not only with the ideas of Judaism but also with the matters of common knowledge in Palestine, saying: 'The king knows full well to what I refer; for the resurrection of Jesus is no belief of a few fanatics touching something removed from the light of public day—a 'hole and corner' business. Hence the confidence of my tone in addressing him.' Then he turns quickly to the king with a query calculated to force the latter to shew that to him at least the idea of resurrection (if not Messiah's resurrection) was not in itself incredible.

28. Agrippa's reply shews the man of the world, with his ability to parry a home-thrust with a good-humoured jest about Paul's 'short cut' to making Christians, as he put it. 'A short way,' quoth he, 'you are taking to effect my conversion.' Such seems to be the sense of his words.

29. With noble dignity Paul meets this sally, turning it so as to have the last word, and that one of singular weight and

And the king rose up, and the governor, and Bernice, 30
and they that sat with them: and when they had with- 31
drawn, they spake one to another, saying, This man doeth
nothing worthy of death or of bonds. And Agrippa said 32
unto Festus, This man might have been set at liberty,
if he had not appealed unto Cæsar.

And when it was determined that we should sail for 27
Italy, they delivered Paul and certain other prisoners
to a centurion named Julius, of the Augustan band.

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pathos. 'Would God, that whether by short or by long method, not only thou but also all my hearers to-day might become such as even I am, saving these bonds'—suiting the action to the word. Possibly 'bonds' here refer to a light chain, coupling him with the soldier who had him in charge (cf. xxviii. 16).

xxvi. 30–32. *Opinion of the court on Paul's legal standing.*

This, no doubt, seemed to Luke of the greatest significance as a deliberate judgement of the best opinion, Roman and Jewish, on the spot. Opinions may differ as to whether the words quoted from Agrippa are meant to hint that Cæsar's judgement, yet to be passed, would not be equally favourable.

Paul's voyage to Rome. xxvii. 1—xxviii. 15.

Luke, who, as taking no integral part in the events connected with Paul's arrest and its sequels, has been standing apart, as it were, seeing but unseen, now makes his presence known once more as Paul's travelling companion and so a sharer in his daily experiences.

xxvii. *The voyage, ending in shipwreck: Paul's noble bearing.*

1. of the Augustan band. The name Julius is too common to lend itself to identification. But what of the 'Augustan cohort' to which he belonged? On the face of it we should infer that it was a distinguished body, to be thus named as sufficiently defining Julius' position in the imperial system. This consideration helps to exclude the view that it was a cohort of auxiliary troops (those of the Roman legion had no special names), many of which enjoyed the title Augustan, on account of valour or other causes. Again, the theory that it was one of the five cohorts raised in Sebasté and Cæsarea is improbable for more than one reason. The best solution at present available is that of Ramsay, who suggests that the phrase is a popular one representing simply a cohort of those specially on the service of the emperor

2 And embarking in a ship of Adramyttium, which was
about to sail unto the places on the coast of Asia, we
put to sea, Aristarchus, a Macedonian of Thessalonica,
3 being with us. And the next day we touched at Sidon:
and Julius treated Paul kindly, and gave him leave to
4 go unto his friends and refresh himself. And putting
to sea from thence, we sailed under the lee of Cyprus,
5 because the winds were contrary. And when we had

(Augustus), probably as courier-officers employed on detached service, such as the *frumentarii* (originally used on commissariat duty), who at a date unknown were organized in a camp on the Cœlian Hill (see note on xxviii. 16).

2. The account of the voyage has been estimated by naval experts as the best that has come down to us from antiquity; and Ramsay has pointed out Luke's Greek love of the sea and his eye for sea effects.

a ship of Adramyttium . . . Asia. Adramyttium was a considerable port in Mysia, opposite Lesbos. The vessel was probably a coasting vessel on its way back for the winter, and due to touch at various ports on the coast of 'Asia.' Unless, then, Julius meant originally to go all the way to Mysia with it, and so join the Egnatian Way, which ran from Byzantium through Philippi to Dyrrachium, thence crossing to Italy, we must suppose that he calculated on transshipping somewhere, as he actually did at Myra (verse 6).

Aristarchus, &c. The fact that his province and city are mentioned a second time (cf. xix. 29, xx. 4), and the form of allusion to him as 'with us'—as if not exactly one of Paul's party—point to Aristarchus being on his way home by the route just sketched, through Philippi. Perhaps he carried news of Paul to his churches in that region, notably Philippi; rejoined him in Rome with supplies; and lightened his labours and the irksomeness of confinement there (Philem. 24; Col. iv. 10). Luke would accompany Paul as physician; and one or two more are probably covered by 'us' (e. g. Titus; cf. Titus i. 5, with xxvii. 8 f.).

3. his friends: rather, 'the friends,' a name for the brethren, as in the Society of Friends to-day: cf. 3 John 14, 'The friends salute thee. Salute the friends by name.'

4. under the lee of Cyprus: i. e. to the east of it, to avoid the strong west winds. Otherwise their course would have been the same as that from the opposite direction in xxi. 1–3.

5. They sailed north till they got under the shelter of the Cilician coast, and then coasted along to Myra.

sailed across the sea which is off Cilicia and Pamphylia,
we came to Myra, *a city* of Lycia. And there the 6
centurion found a ship of Alexandria sailing for Italy;
and he put us therein. And when we had sailed slowly 7
many days, and were come with difficulty over against
Cnidus, the wind not further suffering us, we sailed under
the lee of Crete, over against Salmone; and with difficulty 8
coasting along it we came unto a certain place called
Fair Havens; nigh whereunto was the city of Lasea.

And when much time was spent, and the voyage 9
was now dangerous, because the Fast was now already
gone by, Paul admonished them, and said unto them, 10
Sirs, I perceive that the voyage will be with injury and
much loss, not only of the lading and the ship, but also
of our lives. But the centurion gave more heed to the 11

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6. Probability points to its being a large corn-ship (cf. verse 38), one of the fleet which helped to feed Rome.

7. The strong westerly winds still prevailing, they were unable to run from Cnidus (the extreme south-west point of Asia Minor) straight to Cythera, the island just south of Greece; but had to sail obliquely south-west, past Salmoné, the cape to the north-east of Crete, and so along the south side of that large island.

8. Lasea. Ruins bearing this name exist some four miles east of Fair Havens. But why is it mentioned at all? Hardly as helping to fix the locality of its neighbour: for it is not named by any ancient writer. Something must have occurred during Paul's stay to interest him and Luke in it. The gospel must have got a hold there; and it is tempting to connect it with Paul's leaving of Titus in Crete, cf. Titus i. 5 (though this is usually referred to another period in Paul's life).

9. the Fast: i. e. the great Day of Atonement (Lev. xvi. 29 ff.), the 10th of Tisri, about the autumnal equinox (say September 15 in 58, October 5 in 59). Thus the winter season, when ancient navigation ceased, was beginning.

10. I perceive. The word used implies observation, not revelation. Henceforth the narrative brings out the leading part played by Paul in determining the safety of those on board, and the way in which he won the centurion's respect (verse 43): cf. 21, 30 f., 33 ff.

master and to the owner of the ship, than to those things
12 which were spoken by Paul. And because the haven
was not commodious to winter in, the more part advised
to put to sea from thence, if by any means they could
reach Phœnix, and winter *there*; *which is* a haven of
13 Crete, looking north-east and south-east. And when
the south wind blew softly, supposing that they had
obtained their purpose, they weighed anchor and sailed
14 along Crete, close in shore. But after no long time
there beat down from it a tempestuous wind, which
15 is called Euraquilo: and when the ship was caught,
and could not face the wind, we gave way *to it*, and were
16 driven. And running under the lee of a small island
called Cauda, we were able, with difficulty, to secure
17 the boat: and when they had hoisted it up, they used
helps, under-girding the ship; and, fearing lest they
should be cast upon the Syrtis, they lowered the gear,

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11. the master and . . . the owner: rather, 'the pilot' and 'the captain.'

13. close in shore: in this phrase 'the anxious hour has left its record' (Ramsay).

14. beat down from it: i. e. from the high mountains of Crete.

Euraquilo = 'north-easter': probably a corruption, due to false Greek etymology. The form of the A. V. 'Euroclydon' is, strictly, 'East (*Eurus*)-North-easter (*Aquilo*)'—a term coined by Latin sailors.

15. face the wind. The ship must have doubled Cape Matala, a few miles west of Fair Havens, and begun to creep along the coast, which here runs north. But the violence of the north-east wind was such that it could not 'stand up' and continue its course.

16. Giving way and running before the north-east wind, they would first find some shelter under the lee of Cauda, and so at last get the boat, dragging water-logged astern, safely on board.

17. Experts yet debate whether the undergirding was longitudinally round the ship, or transversely under it—the latter being favoured by the form of the verb 'undergirding,' and being on the whole best.

the Syrtis: i. e. the great quicksands stretching far along the

and so were driven. And as we laboured exceedingly 18
with the storm, the next day they began to throw *the freight* overboard; and the third day they cast out with 19
their own hands the tackling of the ship. And when 20
neither sun nor stars shone upon *us* for many days, and
no small tempest lay on *us*, all hope that we should be
saved was now taken away. And when they had been 21
long without food, then Paul stood forth in the midst of
them, and said, Sirs, ye should have hearkened unto
me, and not have set sail from Crete, and have gotten
this injury and loss. And now I exhort you to be of 22
good cheer: for there shall be no loss of life among you,
but *only* of the ship. For there stood by me this night 23
an angel of the God whose I am, whom also I serve,
saying, Fear not, Paul; thou must stand before Cæsar: 24
and lo, God hath granted thee all them that sail with thee.

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coast to the west of Cyrene, and so to the south-west from Cauda and on the path of the south-east hurricane. Thus they reduced sail to retard their progress thither.

19. the tackling: *lit.* 'furniture,' i.e. fittings, and even all tackle not then in use, upon which the crew, apparently at a crisis in the storm (the tense here describes a single act), could lay their hands.

20. neither sun nor stars: their only means of taking their bearings.

was now taken away: rather, 'was now being taken away.'

21. when they had been long without food: not from actual want of supplies (cf. verses 36, 38), but owing to the difficulties of preparing or even getting at food in such a storm, and fatalistic disinclination to make the effort to overcome them. For this is what Paul tries to combat, i.e. the apathy of despair. The way in which Luke describes him as standing forth amidst the cowed crew and passengers, is part of the plan of a work which sets forth the victory of a supernatural faith.

22. to be of good cheer: better, 'keep your spirits up' (cf. verse 25), in contrast to the nerveless despair indicated in failure to take food.

23 ff. Here is a 'supernatural' episode which, as nearly all scholars admit, it is impossible to excise from the narrative of the eye-witness as a later element: cf. verses 33–36, xxvii. 2–6.

25 Wherefore, sirs, be of good cheer: for I believe God,
that it shall be even so as it hath been spoken unto me.
26 Howbeit we must be cast upon a certain island.
27 But when the fourteenth night was come, as we were
driven to and fro in the *sea of* Adria, about midnight the
sailors surmised that they were drawing near to some
28 country; and they sounded, and found twenty fathoms:
and after a little space, they sounded again, and found
29 fifteen fathoms. And fearing lest haply we should be
cast ashore on rocky ground, they let go four anchors
30 from the stern, and wished for the day. And as the
sailors were seeking to flee out of the ship, and had
lowered the boat into the sea, under colour as though
31 they would lay out anchors from the foreship, Paul said
to the centurion and to the soldiers, Except these abide
32 in the ship, ye cannot be saved. Then the soldiers cut
33 away the ropes of the boat, and let her fall off. And
while the day was coming on, Paul besought them all to

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27. Adria: a term generally confined to the arm of the Mediterranean Sea between Italy and Greece—our 'Adriatic Sea'—but here used, probably as by the sailors themselves, even of the part where it broadens out between Crete and Sicily. So Strabo calls 'the Ionian Gulf,' a 'part of what is now called the Adrian' (Gulf): cf. Josephus (*Life*, iii.) for his shipwreck, on the same voyage, in the Adria.

were drawing near, &c.: *lit.* 'some country was drawing near to them' (cf. 'heaving in sight'). But according to our best MS. and the Old Latin version, the sailors 'began to suspect that some land was sounding on their ears' (*resonare*)—a vivid phrase, which also indicates how they came to infer land. From what follows we gather that they heard the breakers on Koura, the eastern point of St. Paul's Bay, on the north side of the isle of Malta.

29. from the stern: having the wind astern. This would put the ship more under control of the helm in case of having to run aground.

wished: rather, 'prayed,' each in his own way.

33. The danger was great that in their enfeebled state their strength and nerve would fail at the critical moment for exertion

take some food, saying, This day is the fourteenth day
that ye wait and continue fasting, having taken nothing.
Wherefore I beseech you to take some food: for this is 34
for your safety: for there shall not a hair perish from the
head of any of you. And when he had said this, and 35
had taken bread, he gave thanks to God in the presence
of all: and he brake it, and began to eat. Then were 36
they all of good cheer, and themselves also took food.
And we were in all in the ship two hundred threescore 37
and sixteen souls. And when they had eaten enough, 38
they lightened the ship, throwing out the wheat into the
sea. And when it was day, they knew not the land: but 39
they perceived a certain bay with a beach, and they took
counsel whether they could drive the ship upon it. And 40
casting off the anchors, they left them in the sea, at
the same time loosing the bands of the rudders; and
hoisting up the foresail to the wind, they made for the

They had, in spite of his words in 21 f., failed to take proper meals ('having taken nothing' in this sense), in their intense anxiety ('ye wait,' rather, 'watch and wait') lest they should suddenly run ashore unawares. This dread would, of course, be a growing one; and, since the soundings had been taken, it was all-absorbing. Hence appears the rare coolness and sagacity of Paul in preparing them for coming effort.

35 f. At such a time the force of example is at its greatest.

37. The numbers are given in our best MS. (and in the Sahidic) as 'some 76.' Either reading might pass easily into the other, by the loss or addition of a single letter: but surely 276 would be an unlikely number for a corn-ship. Observe, too, that the crew planned to escape in a single boat.

39. drive the ship: better, 'run her safe ashore' (as some MSS.).

40. loosing the bands of the rudders. The pair of paddle-shaped rudders, one on either side of the stern, had been lashed above the waves while the ship lay at anchor, and now were lowered again for use. At the same time they hoisted enough sail to give the rudder fuller control, as well as carry the ship well up the beach.

41 beach. But lighting upon a place where two seas met,
they ran the vessel aground; and the foreship struck
and remained unmoveable, but the stern began to break
42 up by the violence *of the waves*. And the soldiers'
counsel was to kill the prisoners, lest any *of them* should
43 swim out, and escape. But the centurion, desiring to
save Paul, stayed them from their purpose; and com-
manded that they which could swim should cast them-
44 selves overboard, and get first to the land: and the rest,
some on planks, and some on *other* things from the ship.
And so it came to pass, that they all escaped safe to the
land.

28 And when we were escaped, then we knew that the
2 island was called Melita. And the barbarians shewed
us no common kindness: for they kindled a fire, and
received us all, because of the present rain, and because

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41. But: rather, 'and,' as it is not meant that their chancing on the 'place between two seas' was other than to their mind. The phrase just quoted probably describes 'a neck of land projecting towards the island of Salmonetta, which shelters St. Paul's Bay on the north-west.' In this, as they approached, the seamen recognized a favourable spot for effecting the risky manœuvre of running aground and taking their chance that the prow would stick fast, and give all a fair chance of jumping into the surf as near dry land as possible. See Ramsay (*St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, p. 340 f.) for this, and for the voyage in general, touching which J. Smith's *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul* is the fullest and best monograph.

44. on other things from the ship: rather, 'on pieces from the ship' (broken off by the waves, or otherwise wrenched away) since the furniture and loose tackle had already been sacrificed (verse 19).

xxviii. 1–10. *Incidents in Melita.*

1. Melita, or 'Melitene' (Cod. Vat. &c.), the modern Malta.

2. the barbarians: rather, 'the rude natives,' since to a Greek like Luke, men untouched by Graeco-Roman culture were 'barbarians,' even though quite removed from savagery.

the present rain: rather, 'the rain that had come on suddenly.'

of the cold. But when Paul had gathered a bundle of 3
sticks, and laid them on the fire, a viper came out by
reason of the heat, and fastened on his hand. And 4
when the barbarians saw the beast hanging from his
hand, they said one to another, No doubt this man is
a murderer, whom, though he hath escaped from the sea,
yet Justice hath not suffered to live. Howbeit he shook 5
off the beast into the fire, and took no harm. But they 6
expected that he would have swollen, or fallen down
dead suddenly: but when they were long in expectation,
and beheld nothing amiss come to him, they changed
their minds, and said that he was a god.

Now in the neighbourhood of that place were lands 7
belonging to the chief man of the island, named Publius;
who received us, and entertained us three days court-
eously. And it was so, that the father of Publius lay 8
sick of fever and dysentery: unto whom Paul entered in,
and prayed, and laying his hands on him healed him.
And when this was done, the rest also which had 9
diseases in the island came, and were cured: who also 10
honoured us with many honours; and when we sailed,
they put on board such things as we needed.

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3. bundle of sticks: more exactly, 'a quantity of brush-wood.'

4-6. The religious moralizing of the simple natives, with its rapid change from one extreme to another—from 'escaped murderer' to 'god'—is most realistic.

7. the chief man: rather, 'the head man'; for *prōtos* was an official title, as is proved by local inscriptions.

Publius. Ramsay thinks that the Greek *Poplios* was the local rendering of *Popilius*.

8. The accuracy of the medical language is once more in evidence.

prayed, and laying his hands on him. See Jas. v. 14 f.

10. honours: i. e. tokens of respect, gifts beyond the supplies named.

11 And after three months we set sail in a ship of
Alexandria, which had wintered in the island, whose
12 sign was The Twin Brothers. And touching at Syracuse,
13 we tarried there three days. And from thence we made
a circuit, and arrived at Rhegium: and after one day a
south wind sprang up, and on the second day we came
14 to Puteoli: where we found brethren, and were intreated
to tarry with them seven days: and so we came to
15 Rome. And from thence the brethren, when they heard

xxviii. 11–15. *From Malta to Rome.*

11. after three months: i. e. as soon as navigation began, say February.

The Twin Brothers: i. e. the 'Dioscūri' or Sons of Zeus, Castor and Pollux, tutelary deities of seamen, to whom perhaps the ship was dedicated with the legend 'To the Dioscuri.' Why should this detail be given? Was it to hint that the good omen of the name of the ship emboldened the centurion to venture to sea thus early, when sailing was still risky? This receives some countenance from the nautical details which follow, and which otherwise seem uncalled for, as they lead up to nothing of moment.

12 f. In the absence of any hint to the contrary, the touching at Syracuse for three days was probably customary. Then they 'cast loose' (the best reading) and resumed their course northwards. The reading 'made a circuit' has nothing in the context to justify it, the run being a straight one along the coast of Sicily. After a day at Rhegium, at the entrance to the Straits of Messina, the south wind sprang up (more freshly than before), and enabled them to make a good run to Puteoli, some 180 miles distant, on the north side of the Bay of Naples, at this time known as the Bay of Puteoli.

14. we found brethren: as likely in a great centre of intercourse like Puteoli. The centurion would be glad to let his charge rest after the voyage, and before beginning the final stage by land to Rome: and he would be content that Paul should stay with friends, under care of 'the soldier that guarded him' (verse 16). Luke dwells on the cordial welcome received by them, as strangers in a strange land, from unknown brethren. Particularly does he note that the brethren came from Rome to meet the party at two distinct spots, long before they actually approached the city. This has the effect of making him refer twice to their arrival at Rome. But indeed such emphasis represents the feelings of the party—'Rome at last'—audible in the anticipatory reference in verse 14.

of us, came to meet us as far as The Market of Appius, and The Three Taverns: whom when Paul saw, he thanked God, and took courage.

And when we entered into Rome, Paul was suffered 16
to abide by himself with the soldier that guarded him.

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15. The Market of Appius. The Greek simply transliterates the Latin *Appii Forum*, an ancient name for the little town on the great road which took its name from Appius its maker. It was forty-three miles from Rome; and here a canal running parallel to the road, through the Pomptine Marshes, reached its northern terminus. Hence it was the first spot for some distance where there was no danger of missing the party.

The Three Taverns: *Tres Tabernae* was a halting-stage, some thirty-three miles from Rome, perhaps at the point where the road from Antium crossed the *Via Appia*. The word *taberna* means a 'booth' or 'shop,' and not 'tavern' in the modern sense (*taberna deversoria*). A knowledge of Roman topography on the reader's part is here assumed: contrast the definition of the situation of Mount Olivet in i. 12. Either, then, Acts was written in Rome, or primarily for a Roman, such as 'Theophilus' (see Introduction, p. 21, note 2).

whom when Paul saw, he thanked God, and took courage. A noteworthy comment, reminding us how anxiously even this heroic soul had been looking forward to the day when he should set foot in Rome, the world's centre and the place where his own fate was to be settled at Cæsar's bar. How heartening, then, the friendly faces of those whom the single, all-sufficient bond of brotherhood 'in Christ' had brought forth to welcome the author of the letter to the Romans!

Paul in Rome. xxviii. 16—*end.*

Paul's confinement in Rome was even less strict in some respects than at Cæsarea; for he was allowed to live in his own lodgings (cf. verses 23, 30), though ever under the eye of a soldier, responsible for his not escaping.

16. [**the centurion delivered the prisoners to the captain of the guard, but.**] This insertion of our inferior authorities has attracted some notice, but represents no more than a second-century speculation. The officer here named in Greek *stratopedarch* is defined by the Old Latin version as *princeps peregrinorum*, the head of the officers for detached service (*frumentarii*) referred to in our note on 'the Augustan band,' xxvii. 1. But as we have no clear proof of such a person till some way on in the second century, while we have evidence

17 And it came to pass, that after three days he called
together those that were the chief of the Jews: and
when they were come together, he said unto them, I,
brethren, though I had done nothing against the people,
or the customs of our fathers, yet was delivered prisoner
18 from Jerusalem into the hands of the Romans: who,
when they had examined me, desired to set me at liberty,
19 because there was no cause of death in me. But when
the Jews spake against it, I was constrained to appeal

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from Trajan, *ad Plin. ep.* 57, that prisoners were sent to the præfect(s) of the prætorian guard—which had a camp of its own—it seems best to suppose the latter meant by the *stratopedarch* of this interpolation.

xxviii. 17–20. *Paul's final appeal to the Jews, at Rome.*

Once more we see Paul trying to shew a body of Jews—this time in the capital of the empire, where some of the prejudices of Judæa might be expected to have a weaker hold on the race—that it was fidelity to the true faith of Israel (verse 20), and no disloyalty to his people or their ancestral religion, which had brought him into conflict with the authorities in Jerusalem. The accuracy of this account and of what follows has often been doubted. But while it presents one or two points of difficulty (see verse 21), the general attitude of Paul to Judaism is of a piece with his defences at Cæsarea (xxiv. 14–16, xxvi. 6f.), which we have seen to be credible in themselves and seemingly part of a narrative by a companion of Paul. Further, the fact that Paul is not made to expound his position then and there, but on another day when the leading Jews return by appointment, is true to the likelihood of the case.

17. those that were the chief of the Jews. This laboured phrase (marg. 'those that were of the Jews first') is probably used to indicate that no technical title is here in question (as in verse 7), but only influence (as in xxv. 2, cf. xiii. 50). Josephus (*Jewish War*, vii. 10. 1) speaks of 'the leading men' (*prōteuontes*) of the Jewish *gerousia* or council of elders at Alexandria: and so we may regard these as the leading men among 'the elders' belonging to the seven synagogues of which we have evidence in Rome (as in xxv. 15, 'the elders' = 'the principal men' of verse 2).

18f. This twofold relation, of Jews and Romans respectively, probably contains much of the essential lesson which Acts would leave with its readers.

unto Cæsar; not that I had aught to accuse my nation of.
For this cause therefore did I intreat you to see and to 20
speak with *me*: for because of the hope of Israel I am
bound with this chain. And they said unto him, We 21
neither received letters from Judæa concerning thee, nor
did any of the brethren come hither and report or speak
any harm of thee. But we desire to hear of thee what 22
thou thinkest: for as concerning this sect, it is known to
us that everywhere it is spoken against.

And when they had appointed him a day, they came 23

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19. not that I had aught, &c. Paul is careful to make plain that his appeal to Cæsar meant no attack on his own people—no spirit of revenge. The absence of bitterness against the Jews, not only here but throughout Acts, should be noted as tending to support an early date; for anti-Jewish feeling became intense among Gentile Christians long before the end of the first century.

20. bound with this chain: cf. Eph. vi. 20, 'an ambassador in (with) a chain.'

21. It is certainly surprising that these Roman Jews should profess themselves ignorant of the case against Paul, in view of the constant intercourse between Jews in Rome and Jerusalem. We can understand how they might not yet have heard of Paul's appeal to Cæsar: but news of the riot to which his presence had given rise, and of the subsequent proceedings against him, could not but have reached Rome through pilgrims to Jerusalem, then, or on the occasion of other feasts during an interval of more than two years. We are forced, then, to suspect that these Jewish leaders affected a completer ignorance touching Paul than actually existed among them (cf. the misstatements by Lysias and Festus in xxiii. 27, xxv. 16, which Luke leaves his readers to detect for themselves). No good reason can be assigned why our author should have exaggerated their ignorance, since in the sequel he has to record their rejection of Paul's gospel: see further, verse 22.

22. These leading Jews seem to have been struck by the fact that here was obviously a man of ability and learning in the schools, who declared as fulfilment of the very 'hope of Israel' that form of Messianic belief which they had associated only with the lower strata of Judaism. They wished, then, to elicit from him a full statement of the views of a sect which they knew but vaguely, as having caused trouble some years before in the Roman *Ghetto*, and elsewhere since then.

to him into his lodging in great number; to whom he expounded *the matter,* testifying the kingdom of God, and persuading them concerning Jesus, both from the law of Moses and from the prophets, from morning till
24 evening. And some believed the things which were
25 spoken, and some disbelieved. And when they agreed not among themselves, they departed, after that Paul had spoken one word, Well spake the Holy Ghost by
26 Isaiah the prophet unto your fathers, saying,

Go thou unto this people, and say,
By hearing ye shall hear, and shall in no wise understand;
And seeing ye shall see, and shall in no wise perceive:
27 For this people's heart is waxed gross,
And their ears are dull of hearing,
And their eyes they have closed;
Lest haply they should perceive with their eyes,
And hear with their ears,
And understand with their heart,
And should turn again,
And I should heal them.

28 Be it known therefore unto you, that this salvation

23. in great number: rather, 'in increased (or considerable) numbers.' The audience was highly representative: and Paul's effort to persuade was intense ('from morn to eve').

24. some . . . some: rather, 'some were inclined to be persuaded, others on the contrary to disbelieve.'

25. Apparently they turned to debate among themselves, ere they left; but, as on the whole their attitude was one of disbelief, Paul quoted to them, as parting testimony, the prophetic words in which Isaiah's ineffectual mission to their forefathers is announced (Isa. vi. 9 f.)—a reminder that their rejection might reflect on them rather than on the message rejected.

26 f. The form of the quotation here, as in Matt. xiii. 14 f., agrees exactly with LXX of Isa. vi. 9 f.

28. this salvation of God: cf. Ps. lxvii. 2, 'that thy way may

of God is sent unto the Gentiles: they will also hear.

And he abode two whole years in his own hired 30

be known upon earth, thy saving health (*lit.* 'thy saving thing,' as here) among all nations': cf. Ps. xcviii. 2 f. The foregoing words of Paul, the apostle of the gospel in its fullest scope, which our historian selects for his last, embody what seems to be the chief moral of his narrative of the Apostolic foundation of the New Israel, viz. the self-caused rejection of the Old. And he gives it as the verdict of the Holy Spirit (cf. vii. 51), whose operation as the real agent in the whole story he has been careful to place in relief. But there is another side to the picture. God's salvation, sent in the first instance to the Jews, was sent also to the Gentiles, who 'will also harken'—significant words which not only receive exemplification in the two final verses, shewing us Paul preaching to all who visit him in his lodging in great Rome (cf. Phil. i. 12 f.), and that 'with all freedom of speech and unhindered,' but also complete in principle the circle of the gospel's progress as foreshadowed in i. 8, and further defined in xxiii. 11. Here lies the fitness of the ending, often thought no proper ending at all, but which really brings the theme of the whole (which is not Paul, but Christianity) to its climax of triumph, and there leaves it as an omen and prophecy of the future. It is a true ending by the same hand that closed the Gospel (in its first stage, as it were) with another picture, that of the original disciples 'returned to Jerusalem with great joy,' and 'continually in the temple, blessing God,' in the new hope that had dawned on them from the Risen Jesus, now known indeed as 'the Christ.' That hope, the kingdom of God under the headship of Jesus Christ, had now become a reality even in the heart of Rome: what yet remained could be but a working out of the great beginnings already achieved (see further, Introduction, pp. 10 ff.).

30. two whole years. Why so long a delay before his case was finally heard and settled? For one thing, time must be given for his accusers to arrive: then there was the citing of witnesses from Asia and other places where he was alleged to have caused tumult (xxiv. 5) or spread sedition against Cæsar (cf. xxv. 8)—on which Paul may have insisted (cf. xxiv. 19) after his accusers' arrival; and finally the Jews may have felt that time was on their side, along with influence indirectly exerted on Nero (e.g. through Poppaea), neutralizing the good impression of Festus' report. Certain sidelights fall on this period from Paul's own letters to the Ephesians, Colossians, Philemon, and Philippians (though the last may be a little later than the two years of *unhindered* preaching), to which some would add Titus and 2 Timothy (1 Timothy

31 dwelling, and received all that went in unto him, preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching the things concerning the Lord Jesus Christ with all boldness, none forbidding him.

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perhaps falling even earlier in Paul's life, e. g. at Cæsarea, see xxiv. 23).

31. the Lord Jesus Christ: the first and only case of this full and solemn title in Acts. It means that our author now speaks out in his own person, no longer as the historian, but as the believer to fellow believers of his own day and circle. Similarly the so-called 'Western' text (to which *Codex Bezae* belongs, though itself ending at xxii. 29[a]) here seems to feel bound to speak out its faith fully, by adding the words: 'Saying that this is the Christ, Jesus, the Son of God, through whom the whole world is yet to be judged' (cf. its addition in viii. 37).

none forbidding him: rather, 'without hindrance'—in the original an adverb sonorous and emphatic.

NOTE A

The Fate of Judas.

The many attempts to harmonize the story of Judas' end, as given in Acts, with that in Matt. xxvii. 3–8, must be pronounced fruitless. The plain fact is that the two are different versions in which the story that the bad man came to a bad end became current. According to Matthew he became a suicide: of this there is no suggestion in Acts. The two explanations of the name *Akeldama* are alternatives, and not really compatible. If we ask which represents the actual facts most nearly, we must say Acts. For (1) the rival account shews more trace of having been framed under the influence of Old Testament analogies or forecasts (i. e. Zech. xi. 11, also perhaps the fate of Ahithophel, 2 Sam. xvii. 23, cf. Ps. cix. 11[1]); and (2) the idea of the story in Acts is supported by the account in the early Christian writer, Papias of Hierapolis, who says that Judas' body swelled to enormous dimensions, so that he finally died 'on his own property,' which consequently became uninhabitable. Papias' story is indeed defaced by gross and disgusting features, fit to enhance the reader's horror at a fate commensurate with the crime; but its fundamental idea confirms Acts, as compared with Matthew; and incidentally it serves to throw into relief the restrained simplicity of Luke's narrative. How far Acts itself presupposes any abnormal state of body in Judas, as condition of his 'bursting in the midst (with a report),' when he fell flat on his face, can hardly be decided. It has recently been argued by Dr. Rendel Harris (*American Journal of Theology*, iv. 490 ff.) that the story of Judas' fate in all its forms goes back to a conventional type of the bad man's ending, as given in the Jewish story of Ahikar; and that Acts is nearest to its original form, according to which its villain, Nadan, swelled up and burst.

NOTE B

Names for Jesus in the Apostolic Age.

(Cf. note on ii. 36.)

The various names and titles by which Jesus is referred to in Acts (as in other parts of the N. T.) deserve careful attention. To us they may have become little more than bare synonyms: but at first it was otherwise. Certain usages were more or

less characteristic of Jewish and Gentile Christians respectively. Thus 'the Lord Jesus' is a Gentile Christian, or at least Hellenistic expression, apparently growing out of the baptismal formula, 'Jesus is Lord'; see Rom. x. 9, 'If thou shalt confess with thy mouth Jesus as Lord,' or rather, 'confess the word in thy mouth (echoing verse 8), "Jesus is Lord" . . . thou shalt be saved'; also Acts viii. 16; 1 Cor. xii. 3; cf. Phil. ii. 11. But in time the growing tendency was to use the official name, 'the Christ' or 'Christ,' either in place of or in addition to the personal and more homely name 'Jesus.' Hence the more solemn phrases, 'the Lord Jesus Christ,' 'our Lord Jesus Christ'—or simply 'the Lord'—comparatively soon became prevalent. Outside Paul's letters, where it is fairly common, 'the Lord Jesus' hardly occurs save in Acts (see Rev. xxii. 21). Here, however, we have it twelve times (i. 21, iv. 33, viii. 16, xi. 20, xv. 11, xvi. 31, xix. 5, 13, 17, xx. 24, 35, xxi. 13), exclusive of the vocative on Stephen's lips (vii. 59; cf. Rev. xxii. 20). Thus Luke may have learned to love the phrase when associated with Paul in his Gentile ministry, and so used it instinctively even in reporting Jewish-Christian speeches, as in i. 21 and in Peter's address at the Jerusalem conference (xv. 11).

NOTE C

The 'Tongues' at Pentecost.

It was not as though the use of many tongues were needful, in order to reach the minds of all the nationalities named in the list which follows, seeing that Greek was almost universally understood. The notion in the text is rather that of a heavenly mode of speech of universal applicability—cancelling, by pressing into its service, the Babel tongues of earth—a speech answering to the universality of the message which it expressed. Many are earth's tongues, but heaven's is one. And now this was heard on human lips in such wise as to translate itself spontaneously into the various languages of mankind. This notion and its whole setting in Acts is so parallel to a Jewish belief touching the conditions under which the Mosaic law was promulgated, as almost to prove the influence of the latter upon the present narrative. Traces of the belief in question exist already in Philo, who was contemporary with the first forty years of the Christian era. In discussing the form in which God spoke the Decalogue to man, Philo says He bade a sound arise invisibly in the air, accompanied by a flame-like appearance, whereby he instilled into the souls of those present a hearing of another and better sort than that through the ears. 'And a voice sounded forth in most

amazing wise from out the midst of the fire that poured from heaven, as the flame articulated itself into language, that familiar to the hearers' (*De decem oraculis*, 9, 11). Similarly the Midrash on Ps. lxviii. 11 says: 'When the Word went forth from Sinai it became seven voices, and from the seven voices was divided into seventy tongues. As sparks leap from the anvil, there came a great host of proclaiming voices.' And this, one must observe, was an event associated in Jewish belief with the feast of Pentecost, the last phase of which was called accordingly the Feast of Trumpets; because 'then from heaven sounded forth a trumpet's voice, which reached, in all likelihood, forthwith to the ends of the universe' (*De septenario*, 22).

In contrast to the reading of Pentecost suggested by the above ideas, the following points are to be noted. (*a*) Peter's speech makes no reference to any foreign tongues, for which the O. T. might have been cited, viz. Isa. xxviii. 11 f., a passage used by Paul in connexion with *glossolalia* in 1 Cor. xiv. 21. The reference actually made is simply to the inspired fervour of the utterances, which marked them out as 'prophesyings' in the sense of Joel ii. 28 ff. (*b*) Further, it is with the phenomena of *glossolalia*, as just described, that Peter is represented on a later occasion as classing the gift of the Spirit at Pentecost (x. 47, xi. 15, 17, cf. xix. 6). (*c*) The points noted under verses 6, 9 (Judæa), 13. All this has naturally led to the suggestion that the original facts of Pentecost were quite akin to the known analogies of *glossolalia*, but gradually took on another and more unique colour in the tradition as it reached the author of Acts. Such an unconscious transformation might be furthered by the influence of Isa. xxviii. 11 f. (see 1 Cor. xiv. 21). But its starting-point was probably a misunderstanding as to the *extent* to which the hearers grasped the scope of the ecstatic praise to God poured forth in the Divinely prompted 'tongues.' It was in fact only the most general idea of the utterances that came home to any of the hearers, who perceived in them a genuine magnifying of God, such as awoke echoes in breasts susceptible to its spirit of devout and exultant gratitude. 'Interpretation' to this extent was probably open to all who had any real religious experience and insight to guide them (without having 'the gift of interpretation,' spoken of in 1 Cor. xii. 10, xiv. 5), such as the 'devout men' of Acts ii. 5 may well have had. Then, in the course of tradition, as the story of the first great outpouring of spiritual energy was repeated at a growing distance (of place as well as time), the interpretation would come to extend to the utterances in detail, and the idea would arise that the Divine voice speaking through these inspired tongues assumed the forms of the languages of mankind. This last stage may, as we saw, have been due to a current belief touching the analogous inauguration of the Old Covenant.

NOTE D

The Holy Spirit.

Whatever may have been the difference intended by the use or omission of the article with the expression 'Holy Spirit,' we may be sure that a difference of meaning or emphasis did exist in New Testament times. Nor are the shades of thought denoted by the presence or absence of the article quite obscure. They are, as a rule, those respectively of a Person in action and of an influence or force. The controversy as to whether Holy Spirit, in the New Testament at least, denotes a person or an influence, is really a fruitless one; it certainly has both meanings, in different contexts. That is, thought dwells sometimes on the fact of psychological power in a man working along the lines of holiness or harmony with the Divine Will; at other times on its origin in God Himself as energizing in man (in Acts xxviii. 25 a masculine participle follows the neuter 'Holy Spirit'). In the one case emphasis rests on the spiritual phenomenon, in the other on its ultimate cause. Thus *pneuma hagion* (without the article) denotes the sacred enthusiasm which marked certain elect souls before Christ's coming, such as Zacharias, Elisabeth, and their son John; and after Pentecost, Christians generally, though also in various special degrees. On the other hand, where the article is present, a further reference is usually intended, and it means 'the Holy Spirit' or God as personally indwelling (immanent) and working in man. The distinction is most clear as regards those cases where *pneuma hagion* is represented as 'falling on' men (Acts viii. 16), or is joined to the verb 'to be filled with,' or to the adjective 'full of,' as happens only in Luke's two books (Luke i. 15, 41, 67, iv. 1; Acts ii. 4, iv. 8, 31, vi. 3, 5, vii. 55, ix. 17, xi. 24, xiii. 9). In all these cases, save one (iv. 31, where the article may perhaps be meant to point back to ii. 4, as the typical manifestation of such enthusiasm), the article is lacking. And this is seen to be the more natural when one observes that the verb 'to be filled' is usually followed by impersonal terms or qualities, like anger (Luke iv. 28), fear (v. 26), madness (vi. 11), wonder (Acts iii. 10), envy (v. 17, xiii. 45), joy (xiii. 52), confusion (xix. 29); while the adjective generally has some quality coupled with *pneuma hagion* (Acts vi. 3, 5, 8, vii. 55, xi. 24). Specially instructive is the alteration of order and of terms in the cases in Acts vi, viz. 'full of spirit (inspiration) and wisdom,' 'of faith and holy spirit,' 'of grace and power': indeed this last seems an excellent paraphrase for the expression 'Holy Spirit'—a rendering made the more certain by the words, two verses lower down, as to 'the wisdom and the spirit wherewith he (Stephen) spake.' And

the like holds good of the use with the verb 'baptize,' where the article never accompanies *pneuma hagion*, surely because the personal sense is not here appropriate—'Holy Spirit' at times contrasting with 'water,' as the element wherein the believer is baptized or consecrated (Luke iii. 16; Acts i. 5, xi. 16). The case in Acts i. 5 is a specially cogent proof of the shade of meaning here advocated, since the 'Holy' is separated from 'Spirit' by the verb: 'but as for you, with spirit shall ye be baptized—Holy Spirit' (cf. Luke ii. 25, 'spirit there was, holy, upon him'). So when Paul asks certain disciples at Ephesus whether they received 'Holy Spirit' at the time when they believed, they answer 'nay, we have not so much heard whether there be (such a thing as) Holy Spirit' (xix. 2).

It is probable that this holy enthusiasm is also meant by the fuller expression, 'the gift of (the) Holy Spirit,' which is received by believers (Acts ii. 38, cf. viii. 15, 17, 19; John xx. 22, 'receive Holy Spirit'), or 'is poured forth' on them (Acts x. 45). It is spoken of as 'God's gift' (Acts viii. 20, cf. xi. 17; John iv. 10, and especially Eph. iii. 7, 'the gift of God's grace'), or 'the gift, the heavenly gift' (Heb. vi. 4). The equivalence of the two phrases 'Holy Spirit' and 'God's gift' comes out most clearly in Acts viii. 19, 20, where Peter, in rebuking Simon Magus for wishing to buy the prerogative of conveying to others 'Holy Spirit' (such as he saw manifest around him), refers to it as 'God's gift.' Confirmation of the foregoing may further be found in the parallelism of Luke i. 35, 'Holy Spirit shall come upon thee, and power of the Most High shall overshadow thee'; and in the phrase 'in (the) spirit and power of (i. e. as once manifest in) Elijah' (i. 17).

But the more personal aspect of the matter, according to which emphasis lies on the Divine energy involved or on God as exerting power, is certainly meant in certain expressions and contexts. This in Acts is oftenest the case with the phrases 'the Spirit, the Holy Spirit' and 'the Spirit of the Lord,' or simply 'the Spirit'—to which one may add 'the Spirit of God,' in Paul in particular. The expression 'the Holy Spirit' is less decisive, its article being perhaps sometimes due to context in one way or another, e. g. by *anaphora* or allusion to a previous mention of Holy Spirit (viii. 18, with reference to verses 16 f.; xix. 2, 6; and possibly xi. 15, with reference to ii. 3 f., cf. x. 44), or through the influence of the article belonging to a word with which it is joined, as in the phrase 'the gift of (the) Holy Spirit.' Context, after all, counts for most. Thus 'to lie to the Holy Spirit' (Acts v. 3); 'it seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us' (xv. 28); 'hindered by the Holy Spirit from speaking' (xxi. 6, cf. ii. 4); 'the Holy Spirit spake through Isaiah' (xxviii. 25)—all clearly refer to Divine personality as at work, apart from the exact title employed.

On the whole, then, 'Divine enthusiasm' is a good paraphrase for *pneuma* or *pneuma hagion* as a phenomenon or fact of experience (the aspect in mind when no article is used). But this is an abstract and therefore incomplete account of the fact on its inner or causal side, the side implying Divine operation, which is personal, God exerting power. And this latter aspect is connoted by 'the Spirit of the Lord' (or 'of God'), 'the Spirit,' or most characteristically 'the Holy Spirit'—the Divine Source of the spiritual quality, holiness, in man. The New Testament is revelation couched in the language of experimental religion, rather than of pure theology. While using terms implying theological reflection of an earlier type than its own, the religion of the New Testament had not yet felt the need of reflectively criticizing current theological conceptions to the extent of creating its own theology in the strict sense. It is, therefore, a mistake to read its utterances as if addressed to other than the practical needs of the religious consciousness, or as if adjusted to the theological conceptions of our own day, rather than to those of the first century of our era. Experimentally or devotionally read, Acts has continued to appeal to man in all ages, and should appeal most of all to-day, when man has recovered once more some due sense of God as not only above but also very present in His creatures, and chiefly in the human soul.

NOTE E

The 'We' Passages.

In the note on xvi. 10 it is argued on general literary grounds that so skilful a writer as the author of Acts would not leave bits of another man's narrative standing in the first person. This conclusion is immensely strengthened by the linguistic argument, drawn from the similarity of style and vocabulary between the 'We' sections and the rest of Acts, and indeed the Lucan writings as a whole (for proofs, see Sir J. C. Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticæ*, pp. 148–154). No one who so assimilated these sections to the style of his own work elsewhere, could fail to turn them into the third person of impersonal narrative, unless he wished designedly to create the impression that he himself was the eye-witness speaking in the first person. Putting aside as utterly baseless the suggestion that our author falsely claims trust, as himself at once witness and writer of these sections, we are left with the alternatives that he wrote spontaneously from memory or else in terms of earlier notes of his own (the so-called Travel-Diary). The former is the simpler and more probable view

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